RELIGIO MEDICI.

The ſeventh Edition, Corrected and Amended.

WITH

ANNOTATIONS

Upon all the obſcure paſſages therein.

ALSO

OBSERVATIONS

BY

Sir *KENELM DIGBY.*

LONDON,
Printed for *Andrew Crook,* 1672.

RELIGIO

A Letter ſent upon the Information of Animadverſions *to come forth, upon the imperfect and ſurreptitious Copy of* Religio Medici, *whilſt this true one was going to Preſs.*

Honourable Sir,

GIve your ſervant, who hath ever honour'd you, leave to take notice of a book at preſent in the Preſs, intituled (as I am informed) *Animadverſions* upon a Treatiſe lately printed, under the name of *Religio Medici*; hereof, I am advertiſed, you have deſcended to be the Author. Worthy Sir, permit your Servant to affirm there is contain'd therein nothing that can deſerve the Reaſon of your contradictions, much leſs the candor of your *Animadverſions*; and to certifie the truth thereof, that book (whereof I do acknowledg my ſelf the Author) was penn'd many years paſt, and (what cannot eſcape your apprehenſion) with no intention for the Preſs, or the leaſt deſire to oblige the Faith of any man to its aſſertions. But what hath more eſpecially emboldned my Pen unto you at preſent, is, that the ſame Piece, contrived in my private ſtudy, and as an exerciſe unto my ſelf, rather than exercitation for any other, having paſt from my hand under a broken and imperfect copy, by frequent tranſcription it ſtill run forward into corruption, and after the addition of ſome things, omiſſion of others, and tranſpoſition of many, without my aſſent or privacy, the liberty of theſe times committed it unto the Preſs; whence it iſſued ſo diſguiſed, the Author without diſtinction could not acknowledg it. Having thus miſcarried, within a few weeks I ſhall, God willing, deliver unto the Preſs the true and intended Original (whereof in the mean time your worthy ſelf may command a view) otherwiſe when ever that Copy ſhall be extant, it will moſt clearly appear how far the Text hath been miſtaken, and all Obſervations, Gloſſes, or Exercitations thereon, will in a great part impugne the Printer or Tranſcriber, rather than the Author. If after that, you ſhall eſteem it worth your vacant hours to diſcourſe thereon, you ſhall but take that liberty which I aſſume my ſelf, that is, freely to abound in your ſenſe, as I have done in my own. However ye ſhall determine, you ſhall ſufficiently honour me in the Vouchſafe of your refute, and I oblige the whole world in the occaſion of your Pen.

Norwich,
March. 3. 1642.

Your Servant,

T. B.

Worthy Sir,

SPeedily upon the Receipt of your Letter of the third Current, I ſent to find out the Printer that Mr. Crook (who delivered me yours) told me was printing ſomething under my name, concerning your Treatiſe of Religio Medici, and to forbid him any further proceeding therein; but my ſervant could not meet with him; whereupon I have left with Mr. Crook a Note to that purpoſe, entreating him to deliver it to the Printer. I verily believe there is ſome miſtake in the information given you, and that what is printing muſt be from ſome other Pen than mine; for ſuch Reflexions as I made upon your learn'd and ingenious diſcourſe, are ſo far from meriting the Preſs, as they can tempt no body to a ſerious reading of them; they were Notes haſtily ſet down, as I ſuddenly ran over your excellent Piece, which is of ſo weighty a ſubject, and ſo ſtrongly penned, as requireth much time, and ſharp attention but to comprehend it; whereas what I writ was the imployment but of one ſitting; and there was not twenty four hours between my receiving my Lord of Dorſet's Letter that occaſioned what I ſaid, and the finiſhing my Anſwer to him; and yet part of that time was taken up in procuring your book, which he deſired me to read, and give him an account of, for till then I was ſo unhappy as never to have heard of that worthy diſcourſe. If that letter ever come to your view, you will ſee the high value I ſet upon your great parts: and if it ſhould be thought I have been ſomething too bold in differing from your ſenſe, I hope I ſhall eaſily obtain pardon, when it ſhall be conſidered, that his Lordſhip aſſigned it me as an Exercitation to oppoſe in it for entertainment, ſuch paſſages as I might judg capable thereof; wherein what liberty I took, is to be attributed to the ſecurity of a private letter, and to my not knowing (nor my Lords) the perſon whom it concerned.

But Sir, now that I am ſo happy as to have that knowledg, I dare aſſure you, that nothing ſhall ever iſſue from me, but ſavouring of all honour, eſteem, and reverence both to your ſelf, and that worthy production of yours. If I had the vanity to give my

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ſelf reputation by entring the liſts in publick with ſo eminent and learned a man as you are, yet I know right well, I am no ways able to do it; it would be a very unequal progreſs: I pretend not to learning; thoſe ſlender notions I have, are but diſ-joynted pieces I have by chance gleaned up here and there: To encounter ſuch a ſinewy Oppoſite, or make Animadverſions upon ſo ſmart a Piece as yours is, requireth ſuch a ſolid ſtock and exerciſe in School-learning. My ſuperficial beſprinkling will ſerve only for a private letter, or a familiar diſcourſe with Lady-auditors. With longing I expect the coming abroad of the true Copy of that Book, whoſe falſe and ſtoln one hath already given me ſo much delight. And ſo aſſuring you I ſhall deem it a great good fortune to deſerve your favour and friendſhip, I kiſs your hand and reſt,

Winchester Houſe, Your moſt humble

March 20. 1642. Servant,

Kenelm Digby.

To

To ſuch as have, or ſhall peruſe the Obſervations upon a former corrupt Copy of this Book.

THere are ſome men that *Polititian* ſpeaks of, *Cui quam recta manus, tam fuit & facilis:* and it ſeems the Author to the Obſervations of this Book would arrogate as much to himſelf, for they were by his own confeſſion, but the conceptions of one night; a haſty birth; and ſo it proves: for what is really controllable, he generally omitteth; and what is falſe upon the error of the Copy, he doth not always take notice of; and wherein he would contradict, he miſtaketh, or traduceth the intention, and (beſides a parentheſis ſometimes upon the Author) only medleth with thoſe points from whence he takes an hint to deliver his prepared conceptions. But the groſs of his Book is made out by diſcourſes collateral, and digreſſions of his own, not at all emergent from this diſcourſe; which is eaſily perceptible unto the intelligent Reader. Thus much I thought good to let thee underſtand without the Authors knowledge, who ſlighting the refute, hath inforcedly publiſhed (as a ſufficient confutation) his own Book: and in this I ſhall not make ſo bold with him, as the Obſervator hath done with that noble Knight, whoſe name he hath wrongfully prefixed, as I am informed, to ſlight Animadverſions: but I leave him to repentance, and thee to thy ſatisfaction.

Farewel.

Yours, *A. B.*

TO THE
READER.

CErtainly that man were greedy of life, who ſhould deſire to live when all the world were at an end; and he muſt needs be very impatient, who would repine at death in the ſociety of all things that ſuffer under it. Had not almoſt every man ſuffered by the Preſs, or were not the tyranny thereof become univerſal, I had not wanted reaſon for complaint: but in times wherein I have lived to behold the higheſt perverſion of that excellent invention, the Name of his Majeſty defamed, the honour of Parliament depraved, the Writings of both depravedly, anticipatively, counterfeitly imprinted; complaints may ſeem ridiculous in private perſons; and men of my condition may be as incapable of affronts, as hopeful of their reparations. And truly had not the duty I owe unto the importunity of friends, and the allegiance I muſt ever acknowledge unto truth, prevailed with me; the inactivity of my diſpoſition might have made theſe ſufferings continual, and time that brings other things to light, ſhould have ſatisfied me in the remedy of its oblivion. But becauſe things evidently falſe are not only printed, but many things of truth moſt falſly ſet forth; in this latter I could not but think my ſelf ingaged: for though we have no power to redreſs the former, yet in the other reparation being within our ſelves, I have at preſent repreſented unto the world a full and intended Copy of that Piece, which was moſt imperfectly and ſurreptitiouſly publiſhed before.

This I confeſs, about ſeven years paſt, with ſome others of affinity thereto, for my private exerciſe and ſatisfaction, I had at leiſurable hours compoſed; which being communicated unto one, it became common unto many, and was by tranſcription ſucceſſively corrupted, until it arrived in a more depraved Copy at the Preſs. He that ſhall peruſe that Work, and ſhall take notice of ſundry particulars and perſonal expreſſions therein, will eaſily diſcern the intention was not publick: and being a private exerciſe directed to myſelf, what is delivered therein, was rather

ther a memorial unto me, than an example or rule unto any other: and therefore if there be any ſingularity therein correſpondent unto the private conceptions of any man, it doth not advantage them; or if diſſentaneous thereunto, it no way overthrows them. It was penned in ſuch a place, and with ſuch advantage, that (I proteſt) from the firſt ſetting of pen unto paper, I had not the aſſiſtance of any good Book, whereby to promote my invention, or relieve my memory; and therefore there might be many relapſes therein, which others might take notice of, and more that I ſuſpected my ſelf. It was ſet down many years paſt, and was the ſenſe of my conception at that time, not an immutable law unto my advancing judgment at all times; and therefore there might be many things therein plauſible unto my paſſed apprehenſion, which are not agreeable unto my preſent ſelf. Therefore are many things delevered Rhetorically, many expreſſions therein meerly Tropical, and as they beſt illuſtrate my intention; and therefore alſo there are many things to be taken in a ſoft and flexible ſenſe, and not to be called unto the rigid teſt of Reaſon. Laſtly, all that is contained therein, is in ſubmiſſion unto maturer diſcernments; and as I have declared, ſhall no further father them than the beſt and learned judgments ſhall authorize them: under favour of which conſiderations, I have made its ſecrecy publick, and committed the truth thereof to every ingenuous Reader.

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Tho. Browne.

RELI-

RELIGIO MEDICI.

FOr my Religion, though there be ſeveral circumſtances that might perſwade the World I have none at all, as the general ſcandal of my Profeſſion, the natural courſe of my Studies, the indifferency of my Behaviour and Diſcourſe in matters of Religion, neither violently Defending one, nor with that common ardour and contention Oppoſing another; yet in deſpight hereof I dare, without uſurpation, aſſume the honourable ſtile of a Chriſtian: Not that I meerly owe this Title to the Font, my Education, or Clime wherein I was born, as being bred up either to confirm thoſe Principles my Parents inſtilled into my unwary underſtanding, or by a general conſent proceed in the Religion of my Country: But having, in my riper years and confirmed judgment, ſeen and examined all, I find my ſelf obliged by the Principles of Grace, and the Law of mine own Reaſon, to embrace no other name but this: Neither doth herein my zeal ſo far make me forget the general charity I owe unto humanity, as rather to hate than pity *Turks*, *Infidels*, and (what is worſe) *Jews*; rather contenting my ſelf to enjoy that happy ſtile, than maligning thoſe who refuſe ſo glorious a Title. *Sect.* 1.

But becauſe the name of a Chriſtian is become too general to expreſs our Faith, there being a Geography of Religion as well as Lands, and every Clime diſtinguiſhed not only by their Laws and Limits, but circumſcribed by their Doctrines and Rules of Faith; to be particular, I am of that reformed new caſt Religion, wherein I diſlike nothing but the name; of the ſame beleif our Saviour taught, the Apoſtles diſſeminated, the Fathers authorized, and the Martyrs confirmed; but by the ſiniſter ends of Princes, the ambition and avarice of Prelates, and the fatal corruption of times, ſo decayed, impaired, and fallen from its native beauty, that it required the careful and charitable hands of theſe times to reſtore it to its primitive integrity. Now the accidental occaſion whereupon, the ſlender means whereby, the low and abject condition of the perſon by whom ſo good *Sect.* 2.

a work was set on foot, which in our Adversaries beget contempt and scorn, fills me with wonder, and is the very same objection the insolent Pagans first cast at Christ and his Disciples.

Sect. 3. Yet have I not so shaken hands with those desperate Resolutions, who had rather venture at large their decayed bottome, then bring her in to be new trimm'd in the Dock; who had rather promiscuously retain all, then abridge any, and obstinately be what they are, then what they have been, as to stand in diameter and swords point with them: We have reformed from them, not against them; for omitting those improperations, and terms of scurrility betwixt us, which onely difference our affections, and not our cause, there is between us one common name and appellation, one faith and necessary body of principles common to us both; and therefore I am not scrupulous to converse and live with them, to enter their Churches in defect of ours, and either pray with them, or for them: I could never perceive any rational consequence from those many Texts which prohibit the Children of *Israel* to pollute themselves with the Temples of the Heathens; we being all Christians, and not divided by such detested impieties as might prophane our Prayers, or the place wherein we make them; or that a resolved Conscience may not adore her Creator any where, especially in places devoted to his service; where if their Devotions offend him, mine may please him; if theirs prophane it, mine may hallow it: Holy-water and Crucifix (dangerous to the common people) deceive not my judgment, nor abuse my devotion at all: I am, I confess, naturally inclined to that, which misguided zeal terms superstition: my common conversation I do acknowledge austere, my behaviour full of rigour, sometimes not without morosity; yet at my Devotion I love to use the civility of my knee, my hat, and hand, with all those outward and sensible motions which may express or promote my invisible Devotion. I should violate my own arm rather than a Church, nor willingly deface the name of Saint or Martyr. At the sight of a Cross or Crucifix I can dispense with my hat, but scarce with the thought or memory of my Saviour: I cannot laugh at, but rather pity the fruitless journeys of Pilgrims, or contemn the miserable condition of Fryars; for though misplaced in circumstances, there is something in it of Devotion. I could never hear the * *Ave-Mary* Bell without an elevation, or think it a sufficient warrant, because they erred in one circumstance, for me to err in all, that is, in silence and dumb contempt; whilst therefore they direct their Devotions to Her, I offered mine to God, and rectifie the Errors of their Prayers, by rightly ordering mine own: At a solemn Procession I have wept abundantly, while my consorts blind with oppotition and prejudice, have fallen into an excess of scorn and laughter: There

* *A Church Bell that tolls every day at six and twelve of the Clock at the hearing whereof every one in what place soever, either of house or street, bendeth himself to his prayer, which is commonly directed to the Virgin.*

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are queſtionleſs both in *Greek*, *Roman*, and *African* Churches, Solemnities and Ceremonies, whereof the wiſer Zeals do make a Chriſtian uſe, and ſtand condemned by us, not as evil in themſelves, but as allurements and baits of ſuperſtition to thoſe vulgar heads that look aſquint on the face of truth, and thoſe unſtable judgments that cannot conſiſt in the narrow point and centre of vertue without a reel or ſtagger to the circumference.

As there were many Reformers, ſo likewiſe many Reformations; every Country proceeding in a particular way and method, according as their national Intereſt, together with their Conſtitution and Clime inclined them; ſome angrily, and with extremity, others calmly, and with mediocrity, not rending but eaſily dividing the community, and leaving an honeſt poſſibility of a reconciliation; which though peaceable Spirits do deſire, and may conceive that revolution of time and the mercies of God may effect, yet that judgment that ſhall conſider the preſent antipathies between the two extreams, their contrarieties in condition, affection and opinion, may with the ſame hopes expect an union in the Poles of *Heaven*. *Sect.* 4.

But to difference my ſelf nearer, and draw into a leſſer Circle: There is no Church, whoſe every part ſo ſquares unto my Conſcience; whoſe Articles, Conſtitutions, and Cuſtoms, ſeem ſo conſonant unto reaſon, and as it were framed to my particular Devotion, as this whereof I hold my Belief, the Church of *England*, to whoſe Faith I am a ſworn Subject; and therefore in a double Obligation ſubſcribe unto her Articles, and endeavour to obſerve her Conſtitutions: whatſoever is beyond, as points indifferent, I obſerve according to the rules of my private reaſon, or the humour and faſhion of my Devotion; neither believing this, becauſe *Luther* affirmed it, or diſproving that, becauſe *Calvin* hath diſavouched it. I condemn not all things in the Council of *Trent*, nor approve all in the Synod of *Dort*. In brief, where the Scripture is ſilent, the Church is my Text; where that ſpeaks, 'tis but my Comment: where there is a joynt ſilence of both, I borrow not the rules of my Religion from *Rome* or *Geneva*, but the dictates of my own reaſon. It is an unjuſt ſcandal of our adverſaries, and a groſs errour in our ſelves, to compute the Nativity of our Religion from *Henry* the Eighth, who though he rejected the Pope, refuſed not the faith of *Rome*, and effected no more than what his own Predeceſſors deſired and aſſayed in Ages paſt, and was conceived the State of *Venice* would have attempted in our dayes. It is as uncharitable a point in us to fall upon thoſe popular ſcurrilities and opprobrious ſcoffs of the Biſhop of *Rome*, to whom as temporal Prince, we owe the dutie of good language: I confeſs there is a cauſe of paſſion between us; by his ſentence I *Sect.* 5

ſtand excommunicated, Heretick is the beſt language he affords me; yet can no ear witneſs, I ever returned him the name of Antichriſt, Man of ſin, or Whore of *Babilon*. It is the method of Charity to ſuffer without reaction: Thoſe uſual Satyrs and invectives of the Pulpit may perchance produce a good effect on the vulgar, whoſe ears are opener to Rhetorick than Logick; yet do they in no wiſe confirm the faith of wiſer Believers, who know that a good cauſe needs not to be pardon'd by paſſion, but can ſuſtain it ſelf upon a temperate diſpute.

Sect. 6 I could never divide my ſelf from any man upon the difference of an opinion, or be angry with his judgment for not agreeing with me in that, from which within a few dayes I ſhould diſſent my ſelf. I have no Genius to diſputes in Religion, and have often thought it wiſdome to decline them, eſpecially upon a diſadvantage, or when the cauſe of truth might ſuffer in the weakneſs of my patronage: Where we deſire to be informed, 'tis good to conteſt with men above our ſelves; but to confirm and eſtabliſh our opinions, 'tis beſt to argue with judgments below our own, that the frequent ſpoils and victories over their reaſons, may ſettle in our ſelves an eſteem and confirmed Opinion of our own. Every man is not a proper Champion for Truth, nor fit to take up the Gauntlet in the cauſe of Verity: Many from the ignorance of theſe *Maximes*, and an inconſiderate Zeal unto Truth, have too raſhly charged the Troops of Error, and remain as Trophies unto the enemies of Truth: A man may be in as juſt poſſeſſion of Truth as of a City, and yet be forced to ſurrender; 'tis therefore far better to enjoy her with peace, then to hazzard her on a battle: if therefore there riſe any doubts in my way, I do forget them, or at leaſt defer them, till my better ſetled judgement, and more manly reaſon be able to reſolve them, for I perceive every mans own reaſon is his beſt *Oepidus*, and will upon a reaſonable truce, find a way to looſe thoſe bonds wherewith the ſubtleties of error have enchained our more flexible and tender judgements. In Philoſophy, where truth ſeems double-fac'd, there is no man more Paradoxical than my ſelf; but in Divinity I love to keep the Road; and though not in an implicite, yet an humble faith, follow the great wheel of the Church, by which I move, not reſerving any proper Poles or motion from the Epicycle of my own brain; by this means I have no gap for *Hereſie*, Schiſmes, or Errors of which at preſent I hope I ſhall not injure Truth to ſay I have no taint or tincture: I muſt confeſs my greener ſtudies have been polluted with two or three, not any begotten in the latter Centuries, but old and obſolete, ſuch as could never have been revived, but by ſuch extravagant and irregular heads as mine; for indeed Hereſies periſh not with their Authors, but like the River

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Arethuſa, though they loſe their currents in one place, they riſe up again in another: One general Council is not able to exterpate one ſingle Hereſie; it may be cancell'd for the pre ent, but revolution of time, and the like aſpects from *Heaven*, will reſtore it, when it will flouriſh till it be condemned again. For as though there were *Metempſuchoſis*, and the ſoul of one man paſſed into anothe r; Opinions do find after certain Revolutions, men and minds like thoſe that firſt begat them. To ſee our ſelves again, we need not look for *b Plato*'s year: every man is not only himſelf; there hath been many *Diogenes*, and as many *Timons*, though but few of that name; men are liv'd over again, the world is now as it was in Ages paſt; there was none then, but there hath been ſome one ſince that Parallels him, and as it were his revived ſelf.

b A revolution of certain thouſand years when all things ſhould return unto their former eſtate, and he be teaching again in his School as when he delivered this Opinion.

Now the firſt of mine was that of the *Arabians*, that the ſouls of men periſhed with their bodies, but ſhould yet be raiſed again at the laſt day: not that I did abſolutely conceive a mortality of the ſoul; but if that were, which faith, not Philoſophy hath yet throughly diſproved, and that both entred the grave together, yet I held the ſame conceit thereof that we all do for the body, that it riſe again. Surely it is but the merits of our unw orthy Natures, if we ſleep in darkneſs until the laſt Alarm. A ſerious reflex upon my own unworthineſs did make me backward from challenging this prerogative of my ſoul; ſo that I might enjoy my Saviour at the laſt, I could with patience be nothing almoſt unto eternity. The ſecond was that of *Origen*, that God would not perſiſt in his vengeance for ever, but after a definite time of his wrath, he would releaſe the damned ſouls from torture which error *I* fell into upon a ſerious contemplation of the great Attribute of God, his Mercy; and did a little cheriſh it in my ſelf, becauſe I fonnd therein no malice, and a ready weight to ſway me from the other extream of deſpair, whereunto melancholy and contemplative natures are too eaſily diſpoſed. A third there is which I did never poſitively maintain or practiſe, but have often wiſhed it had been conſonant to Truth, and not offen ſive to my Religion, and that is the Prayer for the dead; whereunto *I* was inclin'd from ſome charitable inducements, whereby *I* cou'd ſcarce contain my Prayers for a friend at the ringing of a Bell, or behold his Corps without an Oriſon for his Soul: 'Twas a good way me. thought to be remembred by poſterity, and far more noble than an Hiſtory. Theſe Opinions I never maintained with pertinacy, or endeavoured to enveagle any mans belief unto mine, nor ſo much as ever revealed or diſputed them with my deareſt friends; by which means I neither propagated them in others, nor confirmed them in my ſelf; but ſuffering them to flame upon their own ſubſtance, without addition *Sect.* 7.

addition of new fuel, they went out inſenſibly of themſelves: therefore theſe Opinions, though condemned by lawful Councels, were not *Hereſies* in me, but bare Errors, and ſingle Lapſes of my underſtanding without a joynt depravity of my will: Thoſe have not onely depraved underſtandings, but diſeaſed affections, which cannot enjoy a ſingularity without an *Hereſie*, or be the Author of an Opinion without they be of a Sect alſo; this was the villany of the firſt ſchiſm of *Luciſer*, who was not content to erre alone, but drew into his Faction many Legions of Spirits; and upon this experience he tempted onely *Eve*, as well underſtanding the communicable nature of ſin, and that to deceive but one, was tacitely and upon conſequence to delude them both.

Sect. 8. That Hereſies ſhould ariſe, we have the propheſie of Chriſt; but that old ones ſhould be aboliſhed, we hold no prediction. That there muſt be Hereſies, is true, not only in our Church, but alſo in any another: even in the doctrines heretical, there will be ſuper-hereſies; and Arians not only divided from their Church, but alſo among themſelves: for heads that are diſpoſed unto Schiſm and complexionably propenſe to innovation, are naturally diſpoſed for a community; nor will be ever confined unto the order or œconomy of one body; and therefore when they ſeperate from others, they knit but looſely among themſelves; nor contented with a general breach or dichotomy with their Church, do ſubdivide and mince themſelves almoſt into Atoms. 'Tis true, that men of ſingular parts and humours have not been free from ſingular opinions and conceits in all ages; retaining ſomething not only beſide the opinion of his own Church or any other, but alſo any particular Author; which notwithſtanding a ſober Judgment may do without offence or hereſie; for there is yet, after all the Decrees of Councils, and the niceties of Schools, many things untouch'd, unimagin'd, wherein the liberty of an honeſt reaſon may play and expatiate with ſecurity, and far without the circle of an Hereſie.

Sect. 9. As for thoſe wingy Miſteries in Divinity, and airy ſubtleties in Religion, which have unhing'd the brains of better heads, they never ſtretched the *Pia Mater* of mine; methinks there be not impoſſibilities enough in Religion, for an active faith; the deepeſt Myſteries ours contains, have not only been illuſtrated, but maintained by Sylogiſm, and the rule of Reaſon: I love to loſe my ſelf in a myſtery, to purſue my Reaſon to an *O altitudo!* 'Tis my ſolitary recreation to poſe my apprehenſion with thoſe involved ænigma's and riddles of the Trinity, with Incarnation and Reſurrection. I can anſwer all the Objections of Satan and my rebellious reaſon, with that odd reſolution I learned of *Tertullian, Certum*

tum eſt quia impoſſibile eſt. I deſire to exerciſe my faith in the difficulteſt point; for to credit ordinary and viſible objects, is not faith, but perſwaſion. Some beleive the better for ſeeing Chriſt's Sepulchre; and when they have ſeen the Red Sea, doubt not of the Miracle. Now contrarily, I bleſs my ſelf, and am thankful that I lived not in the dayes of *Miracles*, that I never ſaw Chriſt nor his Diſciples; I would not have been one of thoſe *Iſraelites* that paſs'd the red Sea, nor one of Chriſts patients on whom he wrought his wonders; then had my faith been thruſt upon me; nor ſhould I enjoy that greater bleſſing pronounced to all that beleive and ſaw not. 'Tis an eaſie and neceſſary belief, to credit what our eye and ſenſe hath examined: I believe he was dead and buried, and roſe again; and deſire to ſee him in his glory, rather than to contemplate him in his Cenotaphe, or Sepulchre. Nor is this much to believe; as we have reaſon, we owe this faith unto Hiſtory: they only had the advantage of a bold and noble Faith, who lived before his coming, who upon obſcure propheſies and myſtical Types could raiſe a belief, and expect apparent impoſſibilities.

'Tis true, there is an edge in all firm belief, and with an eaſie Metaphor we may ſay the Sword of Faith; but in theſe obſcurities I rather uſe it in the adjunct the Apoſtle gives it, a Buckler; under which I conceive a wary combatant may lye invulnerable. Since I was of underſtanding to know we knew nothing, my reaſon hath been more pliable to the will of Faith; I am now content to underſtand a myſtery without a rigid definition, in an eaſie and Platonick deſcription. That *b* allegorical deſcription of *Hermes*, pleaſeth me beyond all the Metaphiſical definitions of *Divines*; where I cannot ſatisfie my reaſon, I love to humour my fancy: I had as live you tell me that *anima eſt angelus hominis, eſt Corpus Dei*, as *Entelechia*; *Lux eſt umbra Dei*, as *actus perſpicui*; where there is an obſcurity too deep for our Reaſon, 'tis good to ſit down with a deſcription, periphraſis, or adumbration; for by acquainting our reaſon how unable it is to diſplay the viſible and obvious effects of nature, it becomes more humble and ſubmiſſive unto the ſubtleties of faith; and thus I teach my haggard and unreclaimed reaſon to ſtoop unto the lure of Faith. I believe there was already a tree whoſe fruit our unhappy Parents taſted, though in the ſame Chapter when God forbids it, 'tis poſitively ſaid, the plants of the fields were not yet grown; for God had not caus'd it to rain upon the earth. I believe that the Serpent (if we ſhall literally underſtand it) from his proper form and figure, made his motion on his belly before the curſe. I find the tryal of the Pucellage and virginity of Women, which God ordained the *Jews*, is very fallible. Experience and Hiſtory informs me, that not

Sect. 10.

b Sphæra cujus centrum ubique, circumferentia nullibi.

not onely many particular Women, but likewiſe whole Nations have eſcaped the curſe of Childbirth, which God ſeems to pronounce upon the whole Sex; yet do I believe that all this is true, which indeed my Reaſon would perſwade me to be falſe; and this I think is no vulgar part of Faith, to believe a thing not only above, but contrary to Reaſon, and againſt the Arguments of our proper Senſes.

Sect. 11. In my ſolitary and retired imagination, (*Neq; enim cum porticus, aut me lectulus accepit, deſum mihi*) I remember I am not alone, and therefore forget not to contemplate him and his attributes who is ever with me, eſpecially thoſe two mighty ones, his Wiſdom and Eternity: with the one I recreate, with the other I confound my underſtanding: for who can ſpeak of Eternity without a ſolœciſm, or think thereof without an Extaſie? Time we may comprehend, 'tis but five dayes elder then our ſelves, and hath the ſame *Horoſcope* with the world; but to retire ſo far back as to apprehend a beginning, to give ſuch an infinite ſtart forwards as to conceive an end in an eſſence that we affirm hath neither the one nor the other, it puts my Reaſon to St. *Pauls* Sanctuary: my Phyloſophy dares not ſay the Angels can do it; God hath not made a Creature that can comprehend him; 'tis a priviledge of his own nature: *I am that I am*, was his own definition unto *Moſes*; and 'twas a ſhort one, to confound mortality, that durſt queſtion God, or ask him what he was; indeed he onely is; all others have and ſhall be: but in Eternity there is no diſtinction of Tenſes; and therefore that terrible term *Predeſtination*, which hath troubled ſo many weak heads to conceive, and the wiſeſt to explain, is in reſpect to God no preſcious determination of our Eſtates to come, but a definitive blaſt of his will already fulfilled, and at the inſtant that he firſt decreed it; for to his Eternity which is indiviſible, and all together, the laſt Trump is already ſounded, the reprobates in the flame, and the bleſſed in *Abrahams* boſome. St. *Peter* ſpeaks modeſtly, when he ſaith, a thouſand years to God are but as one day: for to ſpeak like a Phyloſopher, thoſe continued inſtances of time which flow into a thouſand years, make not to him one moment; what to us is to come, to his Eternity is preſent, his whole duration being but one permanent point, without Succeſſion, Parts, Flux, or Diviſion.

Sect. 12. There is no attribute that adds more difficulty to the myſtery of the Trinity, where, though in a relative way of Father and Son, we muſt deny a priority. I wonder how *Ariſtotle* could conceive the World eternal, or how he could make good two Eternities: his ſimilitude of a Triangle, comprehended in a ſquare, doth ſomewhat illuſtrate the Trinity of our Souls, and that the Triple Unity of God; for there is in us not three, but a Trinity of Souls, becauſe there is in us, if not three diſtinct Souls, yet differing faculties, that can, and do

do ſubſiſt apart in different Subjects, and yet in us are thus united as to make but one Soul and ſubſtance: if one Soul were ſo perfect as to inform three diſtinct Bodies, that were a petty Trinity: conceive, the diſtinct number of three, not divided nor ſeparated by the intellect, but actually comprehended in its Unity, and that is a perfect Trinity. I have often admired the myſtical way of *Pythagoras*, and the ſecret Magick of numbers. Beware of Phyloſophy, is a precept not to be received in too large a ſenſe; for in this Maſs of Nature there is a ſet of things that carry in their Front, though not in Capital Letters, yet in Stenography, and ſhort Characters, ſomething of Divinity, which to wiſer Reaſons ſerve as Luminaries in the Abyſs of Knowledge, and to judicious beliefs, as Scales and Roundles to mount the Pinacles and higheſt pieces of Divinity. The ſevere Schools ſhall never laugh me out of the Phyloſophy of *Hermes*, that this viſible World is but a Picture of the inviſible, wherein as in a Pourtract, things are not truely, but in equivocal ſhapes, and as they counterfeit ſome real ſubſtance in that inviſible Fabrick.

That other attribute wherewith I recreate my devotion, is his Wiſdom, in which I am happy; and for the contemplation of this only, do not repent me that I was bred in the way of Study: The advantage I have of the vulgar, with the content and happineſs I conceive therein, is an ample recompence for all my endeavours, in what part of knowledge ſoever. Wiſdom is his moſt beauteous Attribute, no man can attain unto it, yet *Solomon* pleaſed God when he deſired it. He is wiſe, becauſe he knows all things; and he knoweth all things, becauſe he made them all: but his greateſt knowledge is in comprehending that he made not, that is, himſelf. And this is alſo the greateſt knowledge in man. For this do I honour my own profeſſion, and embrace the counſel even of the Devil himſelf: had he read ſuch a Lecture in *Paradiſe*, as he did at * *Dilphos*, we had better known our ſelves, nor had we ſtood in fear to know him. I know he is wiſe in all, wonderful in what we conceive, but far more in what we comprehend not; for we behold him but aſquint, upon reflex or ſhadow; our underſtanding is dimmer than *Moſes* Eye; we are ignorant of the back-parts or lower ſide of his Divinity; therefore to prie into the maze of his Counſels, is not only folly in man, but preſumption even in Angels; like us, they are his Servants, not his Senators; he holds no Counſel, but that myſtical one of the Trinity, wherein though there be three Perſons, there is but one mind that decrees without Contradiction: nor needs he any; his actions are not begot with deliberation, his Wiſdom naturally knows what's beſt; his intellect ſtands ready fraught with the Superlative and pureſt *Ideas* of goodneſs; conſultation and election, which are two motions in us, make but one in him; his actions ſpringing from his power,

Sect. 13.

* Γνῶθι σεαυτὸν, Νόσce teipſum.

at the first touch of his will. These are Contemplations Metaphysical: my humble speculations have another Method, and are content to trace and discover those expressions he hath left in his Creatures, and the obvious effects of Nature; there is no danger to profound these mysterics, no *sanctum sanctorum* in Psylosophy: the world was made to be inhabited by Beasts, but studied and contemplated by Man: 'tis the Debt of our Reason we owe unto God, and the homage we pay for not being Beasts; without this, the world is still as though it had not been, or as it was before the sixth day, when as yet there was not a Creature that could conceive, or say there was a world. The wisdom of God receives small honour from those vulgar Heads that rudely stare about, and with a gross rusticity admire his works; those highly magnifie him, whose judicious inquiry into his Acts, and deliberate research into his Creatures, return the duty of a devout and learned admiration.

Therefore,

Search while thou wilt, and let thy reason go
To ransome truth even to th' Abyss below;
Rally the scattered Causes; and that line
Which Nature twists, be able to untwine.
It is thy Makers will, for unto none,
But unto reason can he e're be known.
The Devils do know thee, but those damn'd Meteors
Build not thy glory, but confound thy Creatures.
Teach my indeavours so thy works to read,
That learning them in thee I may proceed.
Give thou my reason that instructive flight,
Whose weary wings may on thy hands still light.
Teach me so to soar aloft, yet ever so,
When near the Sun, to stoop again below.
Thus shall my humble Feathers safely hover,
And though neer Earth, more than the Heavens discover.
And then at last, when homeward I shall drive
Rich with the Spoils of nature to my Hive,
There will I sit like that industrious Flie,
Buzzing thy praises, which shall never die,
Till death abrupts them, and succeeding glory
Bid me go on in a more lasting story.

And this is almost all wherein an humble Creature may endeavour to requite, and some way to retribute unto his Creator: for if not he that saith, *Lord, Lord*, but *he that doth the will of his Father, shall be saved*; certainly our wills must be our performances, and our intents make out our Actions; otherwise our pious labours shall find anxiety

ty in our Graves, and our beſt endeavours not hope, but fear a reſurrection.

There is but our firſt cauſe, and four ſecond cauſes of all things; *Sect.* 14.
ſome are without efficient, as God; others without matter, as Angels; ſome without form, as the firſt matter: but every Eſſence created or uncreated, hath its final cauſe, and ſome poſitive end both of its Eſſence and Operation; this is the cauſe I grope after in the works of Nature; on this hangs the providence of God: to raiſe ſo beauteous a ſtructure, as the World and the Creatures thereof, was but his Art; but their ſundry and divided operations, with their predeſtinated ends, are from the Treaſure of his wiſdom. In the cauſes, nature and affections of the Eclipſes of the Sun and Moon, there is moſt excellent ſpeculation; but to profound farther, and to contemplate a reaſon why his providence hath ſo diſpoſed and ordered their motions in that vaſt circle, as to conjoyn and obſcure each other, is a ſweeter piece of Reaſon, and a diviner point of Philoſophy; therefore ſometimes, and in ſome things, there appears to me as much Divinity in *Galen* his Books *De uſu partium*, as in *Suarez* Metaphyſicks: Had *Ariſtotle* been as curious in the enquiry of this cauſe as he was of the other, he had not left behind him an imperfect piece of Philoſophy, but an abſolute tract of Divinity.

Natura nihil aget fruſtra, is the only indiſputable Axiome in Phi- *Sect.* 15.
loſophy; there are no *Groteſques* in nature; not any thing framed to fill up empty Cantons, and unneceſſary ſpaces: in the moſt imperfect Creatures, and ſuch as were not preſerved in the Ark, but having their Seeds and Principles in the womb of Nature, are every where, where the power of the Sun is; in theſe is the wiſdom of his hand diſcovered: Out of this rank *Solomon* choſe the object of admiration; indeed what reaſon may not go to School to the wiſdom of Bees, Ants, and Spiders? what wiſe hand teacheth them to do what reaſon cannot teach us? ruder heads ſtand amazed at thoſe prodigious pieces of nature, Whales, Elephants, Dromidaries and Camels; theſe, I confeſs, are the Coloſſus and *Majeſtick* pieces of her hand: but in theſe narrow Engins there is more curious Mathematicks; and the civility of theſe little Citizens, more neatly ſets forth the wiſdom of their Maker. Who admires not *Regio Montanus* his Fly beyond his Eagle, or wonders not more at the operation of two Souls in thoſe little Bodies, than but one in the Trunk of a Cedar? I could never content my contemplation with thoſe general peices of wonder, the Flux and Reflux of the Sea, the increaſe of *Nile*, the converſion of the Needle to the North; and have ſtudied to match and parallel thoſe in the more obvious and neglected pieces of Nature, which without further travel I can do in the Coſmography of my ſelf; we carry with us the wonders we ſeek without us: There is all *Africa* and her prodigies in

us; we are that bold and adventurous piece of nature, which he that ſtudies wiſely learns in a *compendium*, what others labour at in a divided piece and endleſs volume.

Sect. 16 Thus there are two Books from whence I collect my Divinity; beſides that written one of God, another of his ſervant Nature, that univerſal and publick Manuſcript, that lies expans'd unto the eyes of all, thoſe that never ſaw him in the one, have diſcovered him in the other: this was the Scripture and theology of the Heathens; the natural motion of the Sun made them more admire him, than its ſupernatural ſtation did the Children of *Iſrael*; the ordinary effects of nature wrought more admiration in them, than in the other all his Miracles; ſurely the Heathens knew better how to joyn and read theſe myſtical Letters, than we Chriſtians, who caſt a more careleſs eye on theſe common Hyeroglyphicks, and diſdain to ſuck Divinity from the flowers of Nature. Nor do I ſo forget God as to adore the name of Nature; which I define not with the Schools, to be the principle of motion and reſt, but that ſtreight and regular line, that ſettled and conſtant courſe the wiſdome of God hath ordained the actions of his creatures, according to their ſeveral kinds. To make a revolution every day, is the nature of the Sun, becauſe of that neceſſary courſe which God hath ordained it, from which it cannot ſwerve, by a faculty from that voice which firſt did give it motion. Now this courſe of Nature God ſeldome alters or perverts, but like an excellent Artiſt hath ſo contrived his work, that with the ſelf-ſame inſtrument, without a new creation, he may effect his obſcureſt deſigns. Thus he ſweetneth the Water with a Word, preſerveth the creatures in the Ark, which the blaſt of his mouth might have as eaſily created; for God is like a skilful Geometrician, who when more eaſily, and with one ſtroak of his Compaſs he might deſcribe or divide a right line, had yet rather do this in a circle or longer way; according to the conſtituted and ſore laid principles of his Art: yet this rule of his he doth ſometimes pervert, to acquaint the world with his *Prerogative*, leſt the arrogancy of our reaſon ſhould queſtion his power, and conclude he could not: and thus I call the effects of nature the works of God, whoſe hand and inſtrument ſhe only is; and therefore to aſcribe his actions unto her, is to devolve the honour of the principal agent, upon the inſtrument; which if with reaſon we may do, then let our hammers riſe up and boaſt they have built our houſes, and our pens receive the honour of our writing. I hold there is a general beauty in the works of God, and therefore no deformity in any kind of ſpecies of creature whatſoever: I cannot tell by what Logick we call a *Toad*, a *Bear*, or an *Elephant*, ugly, they being created in thoſe outward ſhapes and figures which beſt

beſt expreſs thoſe actions of their inward forms. And having paſt that general Viſitation of God, who ſaw that all that he had made was good, that is, conformable to his will, which abhors deformity, and is the rule of order and beauty; there is no deformity but in monſtrosity, wherein notwithſtanding there is a kind of Beauty. Nature ſo ingeniouſly contriving the irregular parts, as they become ſometimes more remarkable than the principal Fabrick. To ſpeak yet more narrowly, there was never any thing ugly or miſ-ſhapen, but the Chaos; wherein, notwithſtanding, to ſpeak ſtrictly, there was no deformity, becauſe no form, nor was it yet impregnant by the voice of God; Now nature is not at variance with Art, nor Art with Nature; they being both ſervants of his providence: Art is the perfection of Nature: were the world now as it was the ſixth day, there were yet a Chaos: Nature hath made one world, and Art another. In brief, all things are artificial; for Nature is the Art of God.

This is the ordinary and open way of his providence, which Art and Induſtry have in a good part diſcovered, whoſe effects we may foretell without an Oracle: to foreſhew theſe, is not Propheſie, but Prognoſtication. There is another way full of Meanders and Labyrinths, whereof the Devil and Spirits have no exact Ephimerides, and that is a more particular and obſcure method of his providence, directing the operations of individuals and ſingle Eſſences: this we call Fortune, that ſerpentine and crooked line, whereby he draws thoſe actions his wiſdome intends in a more unknown and ſecret way: This cryptick and involved method of his providence have I ever admired, nor can I relate the hiſtory of my life, the occurrences of my dayes, the eſcapes of dangers, and hits of chance, with a *Bezo las Manos* to Fortune, or a bare Gramercy to my good Stars: *Abraham* might have thought the *Ram* in the thicket came thither by accident; humane reaſon would have ſaid, that meer chance conveyed *Moſes* in the Ark to the ſight of *Pharaohs* Daughter: What a Labyrinth is there in the ſtory of *Joſeph*, able to convert a Stoick? Surely there are in every mans Life certain rubs, doublings and wrenches, which paſs a while under the effects of chance, but at the laſt well examined, prove the meer hand of God 'Twas not dumb chance, that to diſcover nhe Fougade or Powder-plot, contrived a miſcarriage in the *Letter*. I like the Victory of 88. the better for that one occurrence which our enemies imputed to our diſhonour, and the partiality of Fortune, to wit, the tempeſts and contrariety of Winds. King *Philip* did not detract from the Nation, when he ſaid, he ſent his Armado to fight with men, and not to combate with the Winds. Where there is a manifeſt diſproportion between the powers and forces

forces of two ſeveral agents, upon a Maxime of reaſon we may promiſe the Victory to the Superiour; but when unexpected accidents ſlip in, and unthought of occurrences intervene, theſe muſt proceed from a power that owes no obedience to thoſe Axioms: where, as in the writing upon the wall, we may behold the hand, but ſee not the ſpring that moves it. The ſucceſs of that petty Province of *Holland* (of which the Grand *Seignour* proudly ſaid, if they ſhould trouble him as they did the *Spaniard*, he would ſend his men with ſhovels and pick-axes, and throw it into the Sea) I cannot altogether aſcribe to the ingenuity and induſtry of the people, but the mercy of God, that hath diſpoſed them to ſuch a thriving Genius; and to the will of his providence, that diſpoſeth her favour to each Country in their pre-ordinate ſeaſon. All cannot be happy at once; for becauſe the glory of one State depends upon the ruine of another, there is a revolution and viciſſitude of their greatneſs, and muſt obey the ſwing of that wheel, not moved by Intelligences, but by the hand of God, whereby all Eſtates ariſe to their *Zenith* and Vertical points, according to their predeſtinated periods. For the lives, not only of men, but of Commonwealths, and the whole World, run not upon an Helix that ſtill enlargeth; but on a Circle, where arriving to their Meridian, they decline in obſcurity, and fall under the Horizon again.

Sect. 18. Theſe muſt not therefore be named the effects of Fortune, but in a relative way, and as we term the works of nature: it was the ignorance of mans reaſon that begat this very name, and by a careleſs term miſcalled the providence of God: for there is no liberty for cauſes to operate in a looſe and ſtragling way; nor any effect whatſoever, but hath its warrant from ſome univerſal or ſuperiour Cauſe. 'Tis not a ridiculous devotion to ſay a prayer before a game at Tables; for even in *fortiligies* and matters of greateſt uncertainty, there is a ſetled and pre-ordered courſe of effects. It is we that are blind, not Fortune: becauſe our Eye is too dim to diſcover the myſtery of her effects, we fooliſhly paint her blind, and hoodwink the providence of the Almighty. I cannot juſtifie that contemptible proverb, *That fools only are Fortunate*, or that inſolent Paradox, *that a wiſe man is out of the reach of fortune*; much leſs thoſe opprobrious Epithets of Poets *Whore*, *Baud*, and *Strumpet*. 'Tis, I confeſs, the common fate of men of ſingular gifts of mind, to be deſtitute of thoſe of fortune; which doth not any way deject the Spirit of wiſer judgements, who throughly underſtand the juſtice of this proceeding; and being inrich'd with higher donatives, caſt a more careleſs eye on theſe vulgar parts of felicity. It is a moſt unjuſt ambition to deſire to engroſs the mercies of the Almighty, not to be content with the

the goods of minde, without a poſſeſſion of thoſe of body or fortune: and it is an error worſe than hereſie, to adore theſe complemental and circumſtantial pieces of felicity, and undervalue thoſe perfections and eſſential points of happineſs, wherein we reſemble our *Maker*. To wiſer deſires it is ſatisfaction enough to deſerve, though not to enjoy the favours of fortune; let providence provide for Fools: 'tis not partiality, but equity in God, who deals with us but as our natural Parents; thoſe that are able of Body and Mind, he leaves to their deſerts; to thoſe of weaker merits he imparts a larger portion, and pieces out the defect of one, by the acceſs of the other. Thus have we no juſt quarrel with Nature, for leaving us naked; or to envy the Horns, Hoofs, Skins and *Furs* of other Creatures, being provided with *Reaſon*, that can ſupply them all. We need not labour with ſo many Arguments to confute Judicial Aſtrology; for if there be a truth therein, it doth not injure Divinity: it to be born under *Mercury* diſpoſeth us to be witty, under *Jupiter* to be wealthy; I do not owe a Knee unto theſe, but unto that merciful *Hand* that hath ordered my indifferent and uncertain nativity unto ſuch benevolous Aſpects. Thoſe that hold that all things are governed by Fortune, had not erred, had they not perſiſted there: The *Romans* that erected a Temple to Fortune, acknowledged therein, though in a blinder way, ſomewhat of Divinity; for in a wiſe ſupputation all things begin and end in the Almighty. There is a nearer way to Heaven than *Homers* Chain; an eaſie Logick may conjoyn Heaven and Earth, in one Argument, and with leſs than a *Sorites* reſolve all things into God. For though we chriſten effects by their moſt ſenſible and neareſt Cauſes, yet is God the true and infallible Cauſe of all, whoſe concourſe though it be general, yet doth it ſubdivide it ſelf into the particular Actions of every thing, and is that Spirit, by which each ſingular Eſſence not only ſubſiſts, but performs its operation.

The bad conſtruction, and perverſe comment on theſe pair of ſe- *Sect.* 19.
cond Cauſes, or viſible hands of God, have perverted the Devotion of many unto Atheiſm; who forgetting the honeſt Adviſoes of Faith, have liſtened unto the conſpiracy of Paſſion and Reaſon. I have therefore always endeavoured to compoſe thoſe Feuds and angry Diſſentions between Affection, Faith and Reaſon: For there is in our Soul a kind of Triumvirate, or triple Government of three Competitors, which diſtract the Peace of this our Common-wealth, not leſs than did that other the State of *Rome*.

As Reaſon is a Rebel unto Faith, ſo Paſſion unto Reaſon: As the propoſitions of Faith ſeem abſurd unto Reaſon, ſo the Theorems of Reaſon unto Paſſion, and both unto Reaſon; yet a moderate and peaceable diſcretion may ſo ſtate and order the matter, that they may be all Kings, and yet make but one Monarchy, every one exerciſing his Sove-

Soveraignty and Prerogative in a due time and place, according to the reſtraint and limit of circumſtance. There is, as in Phyloſophy, ſo in Divinity, ſturdy doubts, and boiſterous Objections, wherewith the unhappineſs of our knowledge too neerly acquainteth us. More of theſe no man hath known than my ſelf, which I confeſs I conquered, not in a martial poſture, but on my Knees. For our endeavours are not onely to combat with doubts, but always to diſpute with the Devil: the villany of that Spirit takes a hint of Infidelity from our Studies, and by demonſtrating a naturality in one way, makes us miſtruſt a miracle in another. Thus having peruſed the *Archidoxes*, and read the ſecret Sympathies of things, he would diſſwade my belief from the miracle of the Brazen Serpent, make me conceit that Image worked by Sympathy, and was but an *Ægyptian* trick to cure their Diſeaſes without a miracle. Again, having ſeen ſome experiments of *Bitumen*, and having read far more of *Naphtha*, he whiſpered to my curioſity the fire of the Altar might be natural; and bid me miſtruſt a miracle in *Elias*, when he entrenched the Altar round with Water: for that inflamable ſubſtance yeilds not eaſily unto Water, but flames in the Arms of its Antagoniſt. And thus would he inveagle my belief to think the combuſtion of *Sodom* might be natural, and that there was an Aſphaltick and Bituminous nature in that Lake before the Fire of *Gomorrah*. I know that *Manna* is now plentifully gathered in *Calabria*; and *Joſephus* tells me, in his days it was as plentiful in *Arabia*; the Devil therefore made the *quere*, Where was then the miracle in the days of *Moſes*: the *Iſraelite* ſaw but that in his time, the Natives of thoſe Countries behold in ours. Thus the Devil played at Cheſs with me, and yeilding a Pawn, thought to gain a Queen of me, taking advantage of my honeſt endeavours; and whilſt I laboured to raiſe the ſtructure of my Reaſon, he ſtrived to undermine the edifice of my Faith.

Sect. 20. Neither had theſe or any other ever ſuch advantage of me, as to incline me to any point of Infidelity or deſperate poſitions of Atheiſm; for I have been theſe many years of opinion there was never any. Thoſe that held Religion was the difference of Man from Beaſts, have ſpoken probably, and proceed upon a principle as inductive as the other. That doctrine of *Epicurus*, that denied the providence of God, was no Atheiſm, but a magnificent and high ſtrained conceit of his Majeſty, which he deemed too ſublime to mind the trivial Actions of thoſe inferiour Creatures. That fatal neceſſity of the Stoicks, is nothing but the immutable Law of his will. Thoſe that heretofore denied the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, have been condemned, but as Hereticks; and thoſe that now deny our Saviour (though more than Hereticks) are not ſo much as Atheiſts: for though they deny two perſons in the Trinity, they hold as we do, there is but one God.

That Villain and Secretary of Hell, that compoſed that miſcreant piece

piece of the three Impoſtors, though divided from all Religions, and was neither Jew, Turk nor Chriſtian, was not a poſitive Atheiſt. I confeſs every Country hath its *Machiavel*, every age its *Lucian*, whereof common Heads muſt not hear, nor more advanced judgements too raſhly venture on: It is the Rhetorick of Satan, and may pervert a looſe or prejudicate belief.

I confeſs I have peruſed them all, and can diſcover nothing that may ſtartle a diſcreet belief; yet are their heads carried off with the Wind and breath of ſuch motives. I remember a Doctor in Phyſick of *Italy*, who could perfectly believe the immortality of the Soul, becauſe *Galen* ſeemed to make a doubt thereof. With another I was familiarly acquainted in *France*, a Divine, and a man of ſingular parts, that on the ſame point was ſo plunged and gravelled with three lines of *Seneca*, that all our Antidotes, drawn from both Scripture and Philoſophy, could not expel the poyſon of his errour. There are a ſet of Heads, that can credit the relations of Mariners, yet queſtion the Teſtimonies of St. *Paul*; and peremptorily maintain the traditions of *Ælian* or *Pliny*; yet in Hiſtories of Scripture raiſe Queries and Objections, believing no more than they can parallel in humane Authors. I confeſs there are in Scripture Stories that do exceed the Fables of Poets, and to a captious Reader ſound like *Garagantua* or *Bevis*: Search all the Legends of times paſt, and the fabulous conceits of theſe preſent, & 'twill be hard to find one that deſerves to carry the Buckler unto *Sampſon*; yet is all this of an eaſie poſſibility, if we conceive a divine concourſe, or an influence from the little Finger of the Almighty. It is impoſſible that either in the diſcourſe of man, or in the infallible Voice of God, to the weakneſs of our apprehenſions, there ſhould not appear irregularities, contradictions, and antinomies: my ſelf could ſhew a Catalogue of doubts, never yet imagined nor queſtioned, as I know, which are not reſolved at the firſt hearing; not fantaſtick Queries or Objections of Air; for I cannot hear of Atoms in Divinity. I can read the Hiſtory of the Pigeon that was ſent out of the Ark, and returned no more, yet not queſtion how ſhe found out her Mate that was left behind: That *Lazarus* was raiſed from the dead, yet not demand where in the interim his Soul awaited; or raiſe a Law-caſe, whether his Heir might lawfully detain his inheritance bequeathed unto him by his death, and he, though reſtored to life, have no Plea or Title unto his former poſſeſſions. Whether *Eve* was framed out of the left ſide of *Adam*, I diſpute not; becauſe I ſtand not yet aſſured which is the right ſide of a man; or whether there be any ſuch diſtinction in Nature: that ſhe was edified out of the Rib of *Adam*, I believe, yet raiſe no queſtion who ſhall ariſe with that Rib at the Reſurrection: Whether *Adam* was an Hermaphrodite, as the Rabbins contend upon the Letter of the Text, becauſe it is contrary to reaſon,

Sect. 22.

* *Poſt mortem nihil eſt, ipſaque Mors nihil. Mers individuum eſt nexis corpori, Nec patiens animæ. Toti morimur, nullaq; pars manet Noſtri.*

there should be an Hermaphrodite, before there was a Woman; or a composition of two Natures, before there was a second composed. Likewise, * whether the World was created in Autumn, Summer, or the Spring] because it was created in them all; for whatsoever Sign the Sun possesseth, those four seasons are actually existent: It is the Nature of this Luminary to distinguish the several seasons of the year, all which it makes at one time in the whole Earth, and successive in any part thereof. There are a bundle of curiosities, not only in Philosophy, but in Divinity, proposed and discussed by men of most supposed abilities, which indeed are not worthy our vacant hours, much less our serious Studies. Pieces only fit to be placed in *Pantagruels* Library, or bound up with *Tartaretus de modo Cacandi.*

In Rabelais. Sect. 2:.

These are niceties that become not those that peruse so serious a Mystery: There are others more generally questioned and called to the Bar, yet methinks of a easie and possible truth.

'Tis ridiculous to put off, or down the general Flood of *Noah*, in that particular inundation of *Deucalion*:] that there was a Deluge once, seems not to me so great a Miracle, as that there is not one alwayes. || How all the kinds of Creatures, not only in their own bulks, but with a competency of food and sustenance, might be preserved in one Ark, and within the extent of three hundred Cubits, to a reason that rightly examines it, will appear very feasible.] There is another secret not contained in the Scripture, which is more hard to comprehend, * and put the honest Farher to the refuge of a Miracle;) and that is, not only how the distinct pieces of the World, and divided Islands should be first planted by men, but inhabited by Tigers, Panthers, and Bears. How *America* abounded with Beasts of prey, and noxious Animals, yet contained not in it that necessary Creature, a Horse, is very strange. By what passage those, not only Birds, but dangerous and unwelcome Beasts came over: How there be Creatures there, (which are not found in this Triple Continent;) all which must needs be strange unto us, that hold but one Ark, and that the Creatures began their progress from the Mountains of *Ararat*: They who to salve this would make the Deluge particular, proceed upon a principle that I can no way grant; not onely upon the negative of holy Scriptures, but of mine own Reason, whereby I can make it probable, that the World was as well peopled in the time of *Noah*, as in ours; * and fifteen hundred years to people the World, as full a time for them, as four thousand years since have been to us.] There are other assertions and common Tenents drawn from Scripture, and generally believed as Scripture, whereunto notwithstanding, I would never betray the liberty of my Reason. 'Tis Paradox to me, || that *Methusalem* was the longest liv'd of all the Children of *Adam*] and no man will be able to prove it; when from the process of the Text, I can manifest it

may

may be otherwiſe. * That *Judas* periſhed by hanging himſelf, there is no certainty in Scripture: though in one place it ſeems to affirm it, and by a doubtful word hath given occaſion to tranſlate it; yet in another place, in a more punctual deſcription, it makes it improbable, and ſeems to overthrow it.] That our Fathers, after the Flood, erected the Tower of *Babel*, to preſerve themſelves againſt a ſecond Deluge, is generally opinioned and believed, yet is there another intention of theirs expreſſed in Scripture: Beſides, it is improbable from the circumſtance of the place, that is, a plain in the Land of *Shinar*: Theſe are no points of Faith, and therefore may admit a free diſpute. There are yet others, and thoſe familiarly conclude from the Text, wherein (under favour) I ſee no conſequence: The Church of *Rome*, confidently proves the opinion of Tutelary Angels, from that Anſwer when *Peter* knockt at the Door; *'Tis not he, but his Angel*; that is, might ſome ſay, his Meſſenger, or ſome body from him; for ſo the Original ſignifies; and is as likely to be the doubtful Families meaning. This expoſition I once ſuggeſted to a young Divine, that anſwered upon this point; to which I remember the *Franciſcan* Opponent replyed no more; but, That it was a new, and no authentick interpretation.

Theſe are but the concluſions and fallible diſcourſes of man upon *Sect.* 23. the Word of God, for ſuch I do believe the holy Scriptures; yet were it of man, I could not chuſe but ſay, it was the ſingulareſt, and ſuperlative piece that hath been extant ſince the Creation: were I a Pagan, I ſhould not refrain the Lecture of it; * and cannot but commend the judgement of *Ptolomy*,] that thought not his Library compleat without it. || The Alcoran of the *Turks* (I ſpeak without prejudice) is an ill compoſed Piece, containing in it vain and ridiculous Errors in Philoſophy] impoſſibilities, fictions, and vanities beyond laughter, maintained by evident and open Sophiſms, the Policy of Ignorance, depoſition of Univerſities, and baniſhment of Learning; that hath gotten Foot by Arms and violence: This without a blow, hath diſſeminated it ſelf through the whole Earth. It is not unremarkable what *Philo* firſt obſerved, That the Law of *Moſes* continued two thouſand years without the leaſt alteration; whereas, we ſee, the Laws of other Common-weals do alter with occaſions; and even thoſe, that pretended their Original from ſome Divinity, to have vaniſhed without trace or memory. * I believe beſides *Zoroaſter*, there were divers that writ before *Moſes*] who, notwithſtanding have ſuffered the common fate of time. Mens Works have an age like themſelves; and though they out-live their Authors, yet have they a ſtint and period to their duration: This onely is a work too hard for the teeth of time, and cannot periſh but in the general Flames, when all things ſhall confeſs their Aſhes.

Sect. 24. I have heard ſome with deep ſighs lament the loſt lines of *Cicero*; others with as many groans deplore the combuſtion of the Library of *Alexandria*:] for my own part, I think there be too many in the World, and could with patience behold the urn and aſhes of the *Vatican*, could I, with a few others, recover the periſhed leaves of *Solomon*. [[I would not omit a Copy of *Enochs* Pillars had they many nearer Authors than *Joſephus*] or did not reliſh ſomewhat of the Fable. Some men have written more than others have ſpoken; * *Pineda* quotes more Authors in one work, than are neceſſary in a whole world. * Of thoſe three great inventions in *Germany*, there are two which are not without their incommodities.] 'Tis not a melancholy *Utinam* of my own, but the deſires of better heads, that there were a general Synod; not to unite the incompatible difference of Religion, but for the benefit of learning, to reduce it as it lay at firſt, in a few, and ſolid Authors; and to condemn to the fire thoſe ſwarms and millions of *Rhapſodies* begotten only to diſtract and abuſe the weaker judgements of Scholars, and *to maintain the trade and myſtery of Typographers.*

* *Pineda* in his *Monarchia Eccleſiaſtica* quotes one thouſand and forty *Authors*

Sect. 25. I cannot but wonder with what exception the *Samaritans* could confine their belief to the *Pentateuch*, or five Books of *Moſes*. I am aſhamed at the Rabbinical Interpretation of the *Jews*, upon the Old Teſtament, as much as their defection from the New: and truely it is beyond wonder, how that contemptible and degenerate iſſue of *Jacob*, once ſo devoted to Ethnick Superſtition, and ſo eaſily ſeduced to the Idolatry of their Neighbours, ſhould now in ſuch an obſtinate and peremptory belief adhere unto their own Doctrine, expect impoſſibilities, and in the face and eye of the Church, perſiſt without the leaſt hope of Converſion: This is a vice in them, that were a vertue in us; for obſtinacy in a bad cauſe, is but conſtancy in a good: And herein I muſt accuſe thoſe of my own Religion; for there is not any of ſuch a fugitive Faith, ſuch an unſtable belief, as a Chriſtian; none that do ſo often transform themſelves, not unto ſeveral ſhapes of Chriſtianity, and of the ſame ſpecies, but unto more unnatural and contrary Forms of *Jew* and *Mahometan*; that from the name of Saviour, can deſcend to the bare term of Prophet; and from an old belief that he is come, fall to a new expectation of his coming. It is the promiſe of Chriſt to make us all one Flock; but how and when this union ſhall be, is as obſcure to me as the laſt day. Of thoſe four Members of Religion we hold a ſlender proportion; there are I confeſs ſome new additions; yet ſmall to thoſe which accrew to our adverſaries, and thoſe only drawn from the revolt of *Pagans*, men but of negative Impieties, and ſuch as deny Chriſt, but becauſe they never

never heard of him: but the Religion of the *Jew* is expreſly againſt the *Chriſtian*, and the *Mahometan* againſt both; for * the *Turk* in the bulk he now ſtands, is beyond all hope of converſion.] if he fall aſunder, there may be conceived hopes, but not without ſtrong improbabilities. The *Jew* is obſtinate in all fortunes; the perſecution of fifteen hundred years hath but confirmed them in their Error: They have already endured whatſoever may be inflicted, and have ſuffered, in a bad cauſe, even to the condemnation of their enemies. Perſecution is a bad and indirect way to plant Religion; It hath been the unhappy method of angry Devotions, not only to confirm honeſt Religion, but wicked Hereſies, and extravagant Opinions. It was the firſt ſtone and Baſis of our Faith, * none can more juſtly boaſt of perſecutions, and glory in the number and valour of Martyrs;] For, to ſpeak properly thoſe are true and almoſt only examples of fortitude; thoſe that are fetch'd from the Field, or drawn from the actions of the Camp, are not oft times ſo truly precedents of valour, as audacity; and at the beſt attain but to ſome baſtard-piece of fortitude: ‖ if we ſhall ſtrictly examine the circumſtances and requiſites which *Ariſtotle* requires to true and perfect valour, we ſhall find the name only in his Maſter *Alexander*, and as little in that Roman Worthy, *Julius Cæſar*;] and if any, in that eaſie and active way, have done ſo nobly as to deſerve that name, yet in the paſſive and more terrible piece, theſe have ſurpaſſed, and in a more heroical way may claim the honour of that Title. 'Tis not in the power of every honeſt Faith to proceed thus far, or paſs to Heaven through the flames; every one hath it not in that full meaſure, nor in ſo audacious and reſolute a temper, as to endure thoſe terrible teſts and tryals; who, notwithſtanding, in a peaceable way do truly adore their Saviour, and have (no doubt) a Faith acceptable in the eyes of God.

Now as all that dye in the War, are not termed Souldiers; ſo neither can I properly term all thoſe that ſuffer in matters of Religion, Martyrs. * The Council of *Conſtance* condemns *John Huſs* for an Heretick; the Stories of his own party ſtile him a Martyr.] He muſt needs offend the Divinity of both, that ſayes he was neither the one nor the other: There are many (queſtionleſs) cannonized on earth, that ſhall never be Saints in Heaven; and have their names in Hiſtories and Martyrologies, who in the eyes of God are not ſo perfect Martyrs as was *that wiſe Heathen *Socrates*, that ſuffered on a fundamental point of Religion, the Unity of God.] * I have often pitied that miſerable Biſhop tha ſuffered in the cauſe of *Antipodes*,] yet cannot chuſe but accuſe him of as much madneſs, *Sect.* 26

for

for expoſing his living on ſuch a trifle; as thoſe of ignorance and folly, that condemned him. I think my Conſcience will not give me the lye, if I ſay there are not many extant that in a noble way fear the face of death leſs than my ſelf; yet from the moral duty I owe to the Commandment of God, and the natural reſpects that I tender unto the conſervation of my eſſence and being, I would not periſh upon a Cerimony, Politick points, or indifferency: nor is my belief of that untractible temper, as not to bow at their obſtacles, or connive at matters wherein there are not manifeſt impieties: The leaven therefore and ferment of all, not only Civil, but Religious actions, is Wiſdom; without which, to commit our ſelves to the flames, is Homicide, and (I fear) but to paſs through one fire into an other.

Sect. 27. That Miracles are ceaſed, I can neither prove, nor abſolutely deny, much leſs define the time and period of their ceſſation: that they ſurvived Chriſt, is manifeſt upon the Record of Scripture; that they out-lived the Apoſtles alſo, and were revived at the converſion of Nations, many years after; we cannot deny, if we ſhall not queſtion thoſe writers whoſe teſtimonies we do not controvert, in points that make for our own opinions; therefore that may have ſome truth in it that is reported by the Jeſuites of their *Miracles in the Indies*; I could wiſh it were true, or had any other teſtimony than their own Pens: they may eaſily believe thoſe Miracles abroad, who daily conceive a greater at home, the tranſmutation of thoſe viſible elements into the body and blood of our Saviour: For the converſion of Water into Wine, which he wrought in *Cana*, or what the Devil would have had him done in the Wilderneſs, of Stones into Bread, compared to this, will ſcarce deſerve the name of a Miracle: Though indeed, to ſpeak properly there is not one Miracle greater than another, they being the extraordinary effects of the Hand of God, to which all things are of an equal facility; and to create the World, as eaſie as one ſingle Creature for this is alſo a Miracle, not only to produce effects againſt, or above nature; but before Nature; and to create nature, as great a Miracle, as to contradict or tranſcend her. ‖ We do too narrowly define the Power of God, reſtraining it to our capacities. * I hold that God can do all things; how he ſhould work contradictions I do not underſtand, yet dare not therefore deny. ‖ I cannot ſee why the Angel of God ſhould queſtion *Eſdras* to recal the time paſt, if it were beyond his own power; or that God ſhould poſe mortality in that which he was not able to perform himſelf. I will not ſay God cannot, but he will not perform many things, which we plainly affirm he cannot: this I am ſure is the mannerlieſt propoſi-

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tion, wherein, notwithſtanding, I hold no Paradox. For ſtrictly his power is the ſame with his will, and they both with all the reſt do make but one God.

Therefore that Miracles have been, I do believe; that they may yet be wrought by the living, I do not deny: but have no confidence in thoſe which are fathered on the dead; and this hath ever made me ſuſpect the efficacy of relicks, to examine the bones, queſtion the habits and appurtenances of Saints, and even of Chriſt himſelf. I cannot conceive why the Croſs that *Helena* found, and whereon Chriſt himſelf dyed, ſhould have power to reſtore others unto life: * I excuſe not *Conſtantine* from a fall off his Horſe, or a miſchief from his enemies, upon the wearing thoſe nails] on his bridle, which our Saviour bore upon the Croſs in his hands: I compute among your *Piæ fraudes*, nor many degrees before conſecrated Swords and Roſes, that which *Baldwyn* King of *Jeruſalem* return'd the *Genoveſe* for their coſt and pains in his Wars, to wit, the aſhes of *John* the *Baptiſt*. Thoſe that hold, the ſanctity of their Souls doth leave behind a tincture and ſacred faculty on their bodies, ſpeak naturally of Miracles, and do not ſalve the doubt. Now one reaſon I tender ſo little Devotion unto Relicks is, I think, the ſlender and doubtful reſpect I have alwayes held unto Antiquities: for that indeed which I admire, is far before antiquity, that is, Eternity; and that is, God himſelf; who though he be ſtyled the ancient of dayes, cannot receive the adjunct of Antiquity, who was before the World, and ſhall be after it, yet is not older than it; for in his years there is no Climacter; his duration is Eternity, and far more venerable than Antiquity. *Sect.* 28.

* But above all things, I wonder how the curioſity of wiſer heads could paſs that great and indiſputable Miracle, the ceſſation of Oracles] and in what ſwoun their reaſons lay, to content themſelves, and ſit down with ſuch a far-fetch't and ridiculous reaſon as *Plutarch* alleadgeth for it. The *Jews* that can believe the ſupernatural Solſtice of the Sun in the dayes of *Joſhua*, have yet the impudence to deny the Eclipſe, which every Pagan confeſſed at his death: but for this it is evident beyond all contradiction, * the Devil himſelf confeſſed it. Certainly it is not warrantable curioſity, to examine the verity of Scripture by the Concordance of humane Hiſtory, or ſeek to confirm the Chronology of *Heſter* or *Daniel*. by the authority of *Magaſthenes* or *Herodotus*. I confeſs, I have had an unhappy curioſity this way, * till I laughed my ſelf out of it with a piece of *Juſtine*, where he delivers, that the Children of *Iſrael* for being ſcabbed were baniſhed out of *Egypt*.] And truly ſince I have underſtood the occurrences of the World, and know in what counterfeiting ſhapes, and deceitful vizards times preſent repreſent on the ſtage, things paſt; *Sect.* 29.

* In his Oracle to *Auguſtus*.

past; I do believe them little more than things to come. Some have been of my opinion, and endeavoured to write the History of their own lives; wherein *Moses* hath outgone them all, and left not onely the story of his life, but as some will have it, of his death also.

Sect. 30. It is a Riddle to me, how this Story of Oracles hath not worm'd out of the World that doubtful conceit of Spirits and Witches; how so many learned Heads should so far forget their Metaphysicks, and destroy the Ladder and Scale of Creatures, as to question the existence of Spirits: for my part, * I have ever believed, and do now know, that there are Witches:] they that doubt of these, do not onely deny them, but Spirits; and are obliquely, and upon consequence a sort not of Infidels, but Atheists. Those that to confute their incredulity desire to see Apparitions, shall question less never behold any, nor have the power to be so much as VVitches:] the Devil hath them already in a Heresie as Capital as VVitchcraft; and to appear to them, were but to convert them. Of all the delusions wherewith he deceives mortality, there is not any that puzleth me more than the Legerdemain of *Changelings*; I do not credit those transformations of reasonable Creatures into Beasts, or that the Devil hath a power to transpeciate a Man into a Horse, who tempted Christ (as a tryal of his Divinity) to convert stones into bread. I could believe that Spirits use with man the act of carnality, and that in both Sexes; I conceive they may assume, steal, or contrive a body, wherein there may be action enough to content decrepit Lust, or Passion to satisfie more active veneries; yet in both, without a possibility of generation: and therefore that opinion that Antichrist should be born of the Tribe of * *Dan* by conjunction with the Devil] it is ridiculous, and a conceit fitter for a Rabbin, than a Christian. I hold that the Devil doth really possess some men, the Spirit of *Melancholy* others, the Spirit of Delusion others; that as the Devil is concealed and denyed by some, so God and good Angels are pretended by others, whereof the late defection of the Maid of *Germany* hath left a pregnant example.

Sect. 31. Again, I believe that all that use Sorceries, Incantations, and Spells, are not VVitches, or as we term them, Magicians; I conceive there is a traditional Magick, not learned immediately from the Devil, but at second hand from his Scholars who having once the secret betrayed, are able and do emperically practise without his advice, they proceeding upon the principles of Nature; where actives aptly conjoyned to disposed passives, will under any Master produce their effects. Thus I think at first a great part of Philosophy was VVitchcraft, which being afterward derived to one another, proved but Philosophy, and was indeed no more but the honest effects of Nature: VVhat invented by us, is Philosophy; learned from him, is Magick. VVe do surely owe the discovery of many secrets to the discovery of good and bad Angels.

Angels. I could never paſs that ſentence of *Paracelſus*, without an aſterisk, or annotation; * *Aſcendens conſtellatum multa revelat quærentibus magnalia naturæ*, i. e. *opera Dei*. I do think that many myſteries aſcribed to our own inventions have been the courteous revelations of Spirits; for thoſe noble eſſences in Heaven bear a friendly regard unto their fellow Nature on Earth; and therefore believe that thoſe many prodigies and ominous prognoſticks, which fore-run the ruines of States, Princes, and private perſons, are the charitable premonitions of good Angels, which more careleſs enquiries term but the effects of Chance and Nature.

* Thereby is meant our good Angel appointed us from our nativity.

Now beſides theſe particular and divided Spirits, there may be (for ought I know) an univerſal and common Spirit to the whole World. It was the opinion of *Plato*, and it is yet the *Hermetical* Philoſophers: if there be a common nature that unites and tyes the ſcattered and divided individuals into one ſpecies, why may there not be one that unites them all? However I am ſure there is a common Spirit that playes within us, yet makes no part in us; and that is the Spirit of God, the fire and ſcintillation of that noble and mighty Eſſence, which is the life and radical heat of Spirits, and thoſe eſſences that know not the vertue of the Sun; a fire quite contrary to the fire of hell: this is that gentle heat that brooded on the waters, and in ſix dayes hatched the world; this is that irradiation that diſpels the miſts of Hell, the Clouds of horror, fear, ſorrow, deſpair; and preſerves the region of the mind in ſerenity: whatſoever feels not the warm gale, and gentle ventilation of this Spirit, (though I feel his pulſe) I dare not ſay he lives; for truely without this to me there is no heat under the Tropick; nor any light, though I dwelt in the body of the Sun. *Sect.* 32.

As when the labouring Sun hath wrought his track
Up to the top of lofty Cancers *back,*
The Icy Ocean cracks, the frozen Pole
Thaws with the heat of the Celſtial coal;
So when thy abſent beams begin t' impart
Again a Solſtice on my frozen heart,
My winter's o're, my drooping ſpirits ſing,
And every part revives into a Spring.
But if thy quickning beams a while decline,
And with their light bleſs not this orb of mine,
A chilly froſt ſurpriſeth every member,
And in the midſt of June *I feel* December.
O how this earthly temper doth debaſe
The noble ſoul, in this her humble place.

Whose wingy nature ever doth aspire
To reach that place whence first it took its fire.
These flames I feel, which in my heart do dwell,
Are not thy beams, but take their power from hell:
O quench them all, and let thy light divine
Be as the Sun to this poor Orb of mine;
And to thy sacred Spirit convert those fires,
Whose earthly fumes choak my devout aspires.

Sect. 33. Therefore for Spirits, I am so far from denying their existence, that I could easily believe, that not only whole Countries, but particular persons have their Tutelary and Guardian Angels: * It is not a new opinion of the Church of *Rome*, but an old one of *Pythagoras* and *Plato*;] there is no heresie in it, and if not manifestly defin'd in Scripture, yet it is an opinion of a good and wholsome use in the course and actions of a mans life, and would serve as an *Hypothesis* to salve many doubts, whereof common Philosophy affordeth no solution: Now if you demand my opinion and Metaphysicks of their natures, I confess them very shallow, most of them in a negative way, like that of God; or in a comparative, between our selves and fellow creatures; for there is in this Universe a Stair, or manifest Scale of creatures, rising not disorderly, or in confusion, but with a comely method and proportion: between Creatures of meer existence, and things of life, there is a large disproportion of nature; between plants and animals or Creatures of sense, a wider difference; between them and *Man*, a far greater: and if the proportion hold one, between Man and Angels there should be yet a greater. We do not comprehend their natures, who retain the first definition of *Porphyry*, and distinguish them from our selves by immortality; for before his Fall, Man also was Immortal; yet must we needs affirm that he had a different essence from the Angels: having therefore no certain knowledge of their Nature, 'tis no bad method of the Schools, whatsoever perfection we find obscurely in our selves, in a more compleat and absolute way to ascribe unto them. I believe they have an extemporary knowledge, and upon the first motion of their reason do what we cannot without study or deliberation; that they know things by their forms, and define by special difference what we describe by accidents and properties; and therefore probabilities to us may be demonstrations unto them: That they have knowledge not only of the specifical, but numerical forms of individuals, and understand by what reserved difference each single *Hypostasis* (besides the relation to its species) becomes its numerical self. That as the Soul hath a power to

to move the Body it informs, ſo there's a faculty to move any, though inform none; ours upon reſtraint of time, place and diſtance; but that inviſible hand that conveyed *Habakkuk* to the Lions Den, or *Philip* to *Azotus*, infringeth this rule, and hath a ſecret conveyance, wherewith mortality is not acquainted: if they have that intuitive knowledge, whereby as in reflexion they behold the thoughts of one another, I cannot peremptorily deny but they know a great part of ours. They that to refute the Invocation of Saints, have denied that they have any knowledge of our affairs below, have proceeded too far, and muſt pardon my opinion, till I can throughly anſwer that peice of Scripture, *At the converſion of a Sinner the Angels in Heaven rejoyce.* *I cannot with thoſe in that great Father ſecurely interpret the work of the firſt day, *Fiat lux*, to the creation of Angels,] though (I confeſs) there is not any Creature that hath ſo near a glympſe of their nature, as light in the Sun and Elements; we ſile it a bare accident, but where it ſubſiſts alone, 'tis a ſpiritual Subſtance, and may be an *Angel*:] in brief, conceive light inviſible, and that is a Spirit.

Theſe are certainly the Mageſterical and Maſter-pieces of the Creator, the Flower, or (as we may ſay) the beſt part of nothing, actually exiſting, what we are but in hopes, and probability; we are onely that amphibious piece between corporal and ſpiritual Eſſence, that middle form that links theſe two together, and makes good the method of God and Nature, that jumps not from extreams, but unites the incompatible diſtances by ſome middle and participating natures: that we are the breath and ſimilitude of God, it is indiſputable and upon Record of Holy Scripture; but to call our ſelves a Microcoſme, or little World, I thought it only a pleaſant Trope of Rhetorick, till my near judgment and ſecond thoughts told me there was a real truth therein: for firſt we are a rude Maſs, and in the rank of Creatures, which onely are, and have a dull kind of being not yet priviledged with life, or preferred to ſenſe or reaſon; next we live the life of *Plants*, the life of Animals, the life of Men, and at laſt the life of Spirits, running on in one myſterious Nature thoſe five kind of Exiſtences, which comprehend the Creatures not onely of the World, but of the Univerſe; thus is man that great and true *Amphibium*, whoſe nature is diſpoſed to live not only like other Creatures in divers Elements, but in divided and diſtinguiſhed Worlds: for though there be but one to ſenſe, there are two to reaſon; the one viſible, the other inviſible, whereof *Moſes* ſeems to have left deſcription, and of the other ſo obſcurely, that ſome parts thereof are yet in controverſie; and truly for the firſt Chapter of *Geneſis*, I muſt confeſs a great deal of obſcurity; though Divines have to the power of humane reaſon endeavoured to make all go in a literal meaning, yet thoſe allegorical interpretations are alſo probable, and perhaps the myſtical method of *Moſes* bred up in the Hyeroglyphical Schools of the *Ægyptians*. *Sect.* 34.

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ect. 35. Now for the immaterial World, methinks we need not wander so far as the first moveable; for even in this material Fabrick the Spirits walk as freely exempt from the affection of time, place, and motion, as beyond the extreamest circumference: do but extract from the corpulency of Bodies, or resolve things beyond their first matter, and you discover the habitation of Angels, which if I call the ubiquitary, and omnipresent essence of God, I hope I shall not offend Divinity: for before the Creation of the World, God was really all things. For the Angels he created no new World, or determinate mansion, and therefore they are every where where is his Essence, and do live at a distance even in himself: that God made all things for man, is in some sense true, yet not so far as to subordinate the Creation of those purer Creatures unto ours, though as ministring Spirits they do, and are willing to fulfil the will of God in these lower and sublunary affairs of man: God made all things for himself, and it is impossible he should make them for any other end than his own Glory; it is all he can receive, and all that is without himself: for honour being an external adjunct, and in the Honourer rather than in the Person honoured, it was necessary to make a Creature, from whom he might receive this Homage, and that is in the other VVorld Angels, in this, *Man*; which when we neglect, we forget the very end of our Creation, and may justly provoke God, not onely to repent that he hath made the world, but that he hath sworn he would not destroy it. That there is but one world, is a conclusion of Faith. *Aristotle* with all his Philosophy hath not been able to prove it, and as weakly that the world was eternal, that dispute much troubled the Pen of the Philosophers, * but *Moses* decided that question, and all is salved with the new term of a Creation,] that is, a production of something out of nothing; and what is that? VVhatsoever is opposite to something, or more exactly, that which is truely contrary unto God: for he onely is, all others have an existence with dependency, and are something but by a distinction: and herein is Divinity conformant unto Philosophy, and generation not onely founded on contrarieties, but also Creation; God being all things, is contrary unto nothing, out of which were made all things, and so nothing became something, and *Omneity* informed *Nullity* into an Essence.

The whole Creation is a Mystery, and particularly that of Man; at the blast of his mouth were the rest of the Creatures made, and at *Sect.* 36. his bare word they started out of nothing: but in the frame of Man (as the Text describes it) he played the sensible Operator, and seemed not so much to create, as make him; when he had separated the materials of other Creatures, there consequently resulted a form and Soul; but having raised the VValls of man, he has driven to a second and harder Creation of a substance like himself, an incorruptible and immortal

mortal Soul. For these two affections we have the Philosophy and opinion of the Heathens, the flat affirmative of *Plato*, and not a negative from *Aristotle*: there is another scruple cast in by Divinity (concerning its production) much disputed in the *Germane* Auditories, and with that indifferency and quality of Arguments, as leave the controversie undetermined. I am not of *Paracelsus* mind, that boldly delivers a receipt to make a man without Conjunction, yet cannot but wonder at the multitude of Heads that do deny traduction, having no other Argument to confirm their belief, than that Rhetorical sentence, and *Antimetathesis* of *Augustine*, *Creando infunditur, infundendo creatur*: either opinion will consist well enough with Religion: yet I should rather incline to this, did not one objection haunt me, not wrung from speculations and subtilties but from common sense, & observation; not pickt from the Leaves of any Author, but bred amongst the Weeds and Tares of my own Brain; And this is a conclusion from the equivocal and monstruous productions in the copulation of a Man with a Beast: for if the Soul of man be not transmitted, and transfused in the seed of the Parents, why are not those productions meerly Beasts, but have also an impression and tincture of reason in as high a measure, as it can evidence it self in those improper Organs? Nor truly can I peremptorily deny that the Soul in this her sublunary estate, is wholly, and in all acceptions inorganical, but that for the performance of her ordinary actions, is required not onely a symmetry and proper disposition of Organs, but a Crasis and temper correspondent to its operations, yet is not this Mass of Flesh and visible structure the instrument and propre Corps of the Soul, but rather of Sense, and that the hand of Reason. * In our Study of Anatomy there is a Mass of mysterious Philosophy, and such as reduced the very Heathens to Divinity;] yet amongst all these rare discourses, and curious pieces I find in the Fabrick of man, I do not so much content my self, as in that I find there is no Organ or Instrument for the rational Soul, for in the Brain, which we term the seat of Reason, there is not any thing of moment more than I can discover in the crany of a Beast: and this is a sensible, and no inconsiderable argument of the inorganity of the Soul, at least in that sense we usually so receive it. Thus we are men, and we know not how; there is something in us that can be without us, and will be after us, though it is strange that it hath no History, what it was before us, nor cannot tell how it entred in us.

Now for these Walls of Flesh, wherein the Soul doth seem to be immured before the *Resurrection*, it is nothing but an elemental composition, and a Fabrick that must fall to Ashes: *All Flesh is Grass*, is not only metaphorically, but literally true; for all those Creatures we behold are but the Herbs of the Field, digested into Flesh in them, or more remotely carnified in our selves. Nay further, we are what *Sect.* 37.

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we all abhor, *Anthropophagi* and Cannibals, devourers not only of men, but of our ſelves; and that not in an allegory, but a poſitive truth: for all this *Maſs* of *Fleſh* which we behold, came in at our mouths; this frame we look upon, hath been upon our Trenchers; in brief, we have devour'd our ſelves. * I cannot believe the wiſdom of *Pythagoras* did ever poſitively, and in a literal ſenſe, affirm his *Metempſycoſis*, or impoſſible tranſmigration of the Souls of *Men* into Beaſts: of all Metamorphoſes, or Tranſmigrations, I believe onely one, that is of *Lots* Wife; for that of *Nebuchadonoſor* proceeded not ſo far; in all others I conceive there is no further verity than is contained in their implicite ſenſe and morality. I beleive that the whole frame of a Beaſt doth periſh, and is left in the ſame ſtate after death, as before it was materialled unto life; that the Souls of men know neither contrary nor corruption; that they ſubſiſt beyond the body, and outlive death by the priviledge of their proper natures, and without a Miracle; that the Souls of the faithful, as they leave Earth, take poſſeſſion of Heaven: that thoſe Apparitions and Ghoſts of departed perſons are not the wandring Souls of men, but the unquiet walks of Devils, prompting and ſuggeſting us unto miſcheif, blood, and vilany, inſtilling, and ſtealing into our hearts; that the bleſſed Spirits are not at reſt in their Graves, but wander ſollicitous of the affairs of the world: but that thoſe Phantaſmes appear often, and do frequent Cœmeteries, Charnel-houſes, and Churches, it is becauſe thoſe are the dormitories of the dead, where the Devil like an inſolent Champion beholds with pride the ſpoils and Trophies of his Victory in *Adam*.

Sect. 38. This is that diſmal conqueſt we all deplore, that makes us ſo often cry (O) *Adam, quid feciſti?* I thank God I have not thoſe ſtrait ligaments, or narrow obligations to the world, as to dote on life, or be convulſt and tremble at the name of death: Not that I am inſenſible of the dread and horror thereof; or by raking into the Bowels of the deceaſed, continual ſight of Anatomies, Skeletons, or Cadaverous reliques, like Veſpilloes, or Grave-makers, I am become ſtupid, or have forgot the apprehenſion of Mortality, but that marſhalling all the horrours, and contemplating the extremities thereof, I find not any thing therein able to daunt the courage of a man, much leſs a well reſolved Chriſtian. And therefore am not angry at the errour of our firſt Parents, or unwilling to bear a part of this common fate, and like the beſt of them to dye, that is, to ceaſe to breathe, to take farewel of the Elements; to be a kind of nothing for a moment, to be within one inſtant of a Spirit. When I take a full view and circle of my ſelf without this reaſonable moderator, and equal piece of Juſtice, Death, I do conceive my ſelf the miſerableſt perſon extant; were there not another life that I hope for, all the vanities of this world ſhould not intreat a moments breath from me: could the Devil work my belief to

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imagine I could never dye, I would not outlive that very thought. I have ſo abject a conceit of this common way of exiſtence, this retaining to the Sun and elements, I cannot think this to be a man, or to live according to the dignity of humanity: in expectation of a better, I can with patience embrace this life, yet in my beſt meditations do often dare death: I honour any man that contemns it, nor can I highly love any that is afraid of it: this makes me naturally love a Souldier, and honour thoſe tattered and contemptible Regiments, that will dye at the command of a Sergeant. For a Pagan there may be ſome motives to be in love with life; but for a Chriſtian to be amazed at death, I ſee not how he can eſcape this Dilemma, that he is too ſenſible of this life, or hopeleſs of the life to come.

Some Divines count *Adam* 30. years old at his Creation, becauſe they ſuppoſe him Created in the perfect age and ſtature of man; and ſurely we are all out of the computation of our age, and every man is ſome months elder than he bethinks him; for we live, move, have a being, and are ſubject to the actions of the Elements, and the malice of diſeaſes, in that other world, the trueſt Microcoſm, the womb of our Mother; for beſides that general and common exiſtence we are conceived to hold in our Chaos, and whilſt we ſleep within the boſome of our Cauſes, we enjoy a being and life in three diſtinct worlds, wherein we receive moſt manifeſt graduations. In that obſcure world, and womb of our mother, our time is ſhort, computed by the *Moon*; yet longer than the dayes of many creatures that behold the Sun, our ſelves being not yet without life, ſenſe, and reaſon; though for the manifeſtation of its actions, it awaits the opportunity of objects, and ſeems to live there but in its root and ſoul of vegetation: entring afterwards upon the Scene of the world, we riſe up and become another Creature, performing the reaſonable actions of man, and obſcurely manifeſting that part of Divinity in us, but not in complement and perfection, till we have once more caſt our ſecondine, that is, this ſlough of fleſh, and are delivered into the laſt world, that is, that ineffable place of *Paul*, that proper *ubi* of ſpirits. The ſmattering I have of the Philoſophers Stone (which is ſomething more than the perfect exaltation of Gold) hath taught me a great deal of Divinity, and inſtructed my belief, how that immortal ſpirit and incorruptible ſubſtance of my ſoul may lye obſcure, and ſleep a while within this houſe of fleſh. Thoſe ſtrange and myſtical tranſmigrations that I have obſerved in Silkworms, turned my *Philoſophy* into Divinity. There is in theſe works of nature, which ſeem to puzzle reaſon, ſomething Divine, and hath more in it than the eye of a common ſpectator doth diſcover. *Sect.* 39.

Sect. 40. I am naturally baſhful; nor hath converſation, age, or travel, been able to effront, or encarden me; yet I have one part of modeſty, which I have ſeldome diſcovered in another, that is, (to ſpeak truely) I am not ſomuch afraid of death, as aſhamed thereof; 'tis the very diſgrace and ignominy of our natures, that in a moment can ſo diſfigure us, that our neareſt Freinds, Wife and Children ſtand afraid and ſtart at us. The Birds and Beaſts of the Field, that before in a natural fear obeyed us, forgetting all Allegiance, begin to prey upon us. This very conceit hath in a tempeſt diſpoſed and left me willing to be ſwallowed up in the Abyſs of waters, wherein I had periſhed unſeen, unpityed, without wondering Eyes, Tears of pity, Lectures of mortality, and none had ſaid *Quantum mutatus ab illo!* Not that I am aſhamed of the Anatomy of my parts, or can accuſe Nature for playing the bungler in any part of me, or my own vitious life for contracting any ſhameful diſeaſe upon me, whereby I might not call my ſelf as wholeſome a morſelf or the Worms as any.

Sect 14. Some upon the courage of a fruitful iſſue, wherein, as in the trueſt Chronicle, they ſeem to outlive themſelves, can with greater patience away with death. This conceit and counterfeit ſubſiſting in our progenies, ſeems to me a meer fallacy, unworthy the deſires of a man, that can but conceive a thought of the next World; who, in a nobler ambition, ſhould deſire to live in his ſubſtance in Heaven rather than his name and ſhadow in the Earth. And therefore at my death I mean to take a total adieu of the World, not caring for a Monument, Hiſtory, or Epitaph, not ſo much as the memory of my name to be found any where, but in the univerſal Regiſter of God. I am not yet ſo Cynical, as to approve the * Teſtament of *Diogenes*, nor do altogether follow that *Rodomontado* of *Lucan*;

* Who willed his Freind not to bury him, but hang him up with a Staff in his hand to fright away the Crows.

——*Cælo tegitur, qui non habet urnam.*

He that unburied lies wants not his Herſe,
For unto him a Tomb's the Univerſe.

But commend in my calmer judgement, thoſe ingenuous intentions that deſire to ſleep by the Urns of their Fathers, and ſtrive to go the neareſt unto corruption. * I do not envy the temper of Crows and Daws,] nor the numerous and weary dayes of our Fathers before the Flood. If there be any Aſtrology, I may outlive a Jubilee; as yet I have not ſeen one revolution of *Saturn*, nor hath my pulſe beat thirty years; and yet excepting one, have ſeen the Aſhes, and left under ground, all the Kings of *Europe*; have been contemporary to three Emperours, four Grand Signiours, and as many Popes: methinks I have out-lived my ſelf, and begin to be weary of the Sun; I have

have ſhaken hands with delight in my warm blood and Canicular days; I perceive I do anticipate the vices of age; the world to me is but a dream or mock-ſhow, and we all therein but Pantalones and Anticks, to my ſeverer contemplations.

It is not, I confeſs, an unlawful Prayer to deſire to ſurpaſs the days of our Saviour, or wiſh to outlive that age wherein he thought fitteſt to dye; yet if (as Divinity affirms) there ſhall be no gray Hairs in Heaven, but all ſhall riſe in the perfect ſtate of Men, we do but outlive thoſe perfections in this World, to be recalled unto them by a greater Miracle in the next, and run on here but to be retrograde hereafter. Were there any hopes to outlive vice, or a point to be ſuper-annuated from ſin, it were worthy our Knees to implore the days of *Methuſelah*. But age doth not rectifie, but incurvate our natures, turning bad diſpoſitions into worſer habits, and (like Diſeaſes) brings on incurable vices; for every day we grow weaker in age, we grow ſtronger in ſin; and the number of our days doth but make our ſins innumerable. The ſame vice committed at ſixteen, is not the ſame, though it agrees in all other circumſtances, as at forty, but ſwells and doubles from that circumſtance of our ages, wherein, beſides that conſtant and inexcuſable habit of tranſgreſſing, the maturity of our judgement cuts off pretence unto excuſe or pardon: every ſin the oftner it is committed, the more it acquireth in the quality of evil; as it ſucceeds in time, ſo it proceeds in degrees of badneſs; for as they proceed they never multiply, and like Figures in Arithmetick, the laſt ſtands for more than all that went before it: And though I think no man can live well once, but he that could live twice, yet for my own part I would not live over my hours paſt, or begin again the thred of my dayes: * not upon *Cicero's* ground, becauſe I have lived them well, but for fear I ſhould live them worſe:] I find my growing Judgement dayly inſtructs me how to be better, but my untamed affections and confirmed viciouſity makes me dayly do worſe; I find in my confirmed age the ſame ſins I diſcovered in my youth; I committed many then becauſe I was a Child; and becauſe I commit them ſtill, I am yet an Infant. Therefore I perceive a man may be twice a Childe, before the dayes of dotage; [and ſtand in need of *Æſons* Bath before threeſcore. Sect. 42.

And truely there goes a great deal of providence to produce a mans life unto threeſcore; there is more required than an able temper for thoſe years; though the radical humour contain in it ſufficient Oyl for ſeventy, yet I perceive in ſome it gives no light paſt thirty: men aſſign not all the cauſes of long life, that write whole Books thereof. They that found themſelves on the radical Balſome, or vital Sulphur of the parts, determine not why *Abel* lived not ſo long as *Adam*. There is therefore a ſecret glome or bottom of our dayes; 'twas his wiſdom to deter- Sect. 43.

mine them, but his perpetual and waking providence that fulfils and accompliſheth them, wherein the Spirits, our ſelves, and all the Creatures of God in a ſecret and diſputed way do execute his Will. Let them not therefore complain of immaturity that dye about thirty; they fall but like the whole world, whoſe ſolid and well-compoſed ſubſtance muſt not expect the duration and period of its conſtitution: when all things are compleated in it, its age is accompliſhed; and the laſt and general Fever may as naturally deſtroy it before ſix thouſand, as me before forty; there is therefore ſome other hand that twines the thread of Life than that of Nature: we are not only ignorant in Antipathies and occult qualities; our ends are as obſcure as our beginnings; the line of our dayes is drawn by Night, and the various effects therein by a Penſil that is invitible; wherein though we confeſs our ignorance, I am ſure we do not err if we ſay it is the hand of God.

Sect. 44. I am much taken with two verſes of *Lucan*, ſince I have been able not only as we do at School, to conſtrue, but underſtand:

Victuroſque Dei celant ut vivere durent,
Felix eſſe mori.

We're all deluded, vainly ſearching ways
To make us happy by the length of days;
For cunningly to make's protract this breath,
The Gods conceal the happineſs of death.

There be many excellent ſtrains in that Poet, wherewith his Stoical genius hath liberally ſupplyed him; and truly there are ſingular pieces in the Philoſophy of *Zeno*, and doctrine of the Stoicks, which I perceive delivered in a Pulpit paſs for current Divinity: yet herein are they in extreams, that can allow a man to be his own *Aſſaſſine*, and ſo highly * extol the end and ſuicide of *Cato*;] this is indeed not to fear death, but yet to be afraid of life. It is a brave act of valour to contemn death; but where life is more terrible than death, it is then the trueſt valour to dare to live; and herein Religion hath taught us a noble example: For all the vallant acts of *Curtius*, *Scevola*, or *Codrus*, do not parallel, or match that one of *Job*; and ſure there is no torture to the rack of a diſeaſe, nor any Pynyards in death it ſelf, like thoſe in the way or prologue to it. * *Emori nolo, ſed me eſſe mortuum nihil curo*;] I would not dye, but care not to be dead. Were I of *Cæſars* Religion, I ſhould be of his deſires, and wiſh rather to go off at one blow, then to be ſawed in pieces by the grating torture of a diſeaſe. Men that look no farther than their out-ſides, think health an appurtenance unto life, and quarrel with their conſtitutions for being ſick; but I that have examined

amined the parts of man, and know upon what tender filiaments that Fabrick hangs, do wonder that we are not alwayes ſo; and conſidering the thouſand doors that lead to death, do thank my God that we can dye but once. 'Tis not only the miſchief of diſeaſes, and villany of poyſons, that make an end of us; we vainly accuſe the fury of Guns, and the new inventions of death; it is in the power of every hand to deſtroy us, and we are beholden unto every one we meet, he doth not kill us. There is therefore but one comfort left, that though it be in the power of the weakeſt arm to take away life, it is not in the ſtrongeſt to deprive us of death: God would not exempt himſelf from that, the miſery of immortality in the fleſh; he undertook not that was in it immortal. Certainly there is no happineſs within this circle of fleſh, nor is it in the Opticks of theſe eyes to behold felicity; the firſt day of our Jubilee is death; the Devil hath therefore failed of his deſires; we are happier with death than we ſhould have been without it: there is no miſery but in himſelf, where there is no end of miſery; and ſo indeed in his own ſenſe, the Stoick is in the right. He forgets that he can dye who complains of miſery; we are in the power of no calamity while death is in our own.

Now beſides the literal and poſitive kind of death, there are others whereof *Divines* make mention, and thoſe I think, not meerly Metaphorical, as mortification, dying unto ſin and the world; therefore, I ſay, every man hath a double Horoſcope, one of his humanity, his birth; another of his Chriſtianity, his Baptiſm; and from this do I compute or calculate my Nativity, not reckoning thoſe *Horæ combuſtæ* and odd days, or eſteeming my ſelf any thing, before I was my Saviours, and inrolled in the Regiſter of Chriſt: Whoſoever enjoys not this life, I count him but an Apparition, though he wear about him the ſenſible affections of Fleſh. In theſe moral acceptions, the way to be immortal is to dye dayly; nor can I think I have the true Theory of death, when I contemplate a Skull, or behold a Skeleton with thoſe vulgar imaginations it caſts upon us; I have therefore inlarged that common *Memento mori*, into a more Chriſtian *memorandum*, *Memento quatuor Noviſſima* thoſe four inevitable points of us all, Death, Judgement, Heaven and Hell. Neither did the contemplations of the Heathens reſt in their Graves, without further thought of *Rhadamanth* or ſome judicial proceeding after death, though in another way, and upon ſuggeſtion of their natural reaſons. I cannot but marvail from what *Sibyl* or Oracle they ſtole the propheſie of the worlds deſtruction by fire, or whence *Lucan* learned to ſay, *Sect.* 45.

Communis mundo ſupereſt rogus, oſſibus aſtra
Miſturus———

There yet remains to th' world one common Fire,
Wherein our Bones with Starsſhall make one pyre.

I beleive the World grows near its end, yet is neither old nor decayed, nor will ever periſh upon the ruines of its own Principles. As the work of Creation was above nature, ſo its adverſary annihilation; without which the world hath not its end, but its mutation. Now what force ſhould be able to conſume it thus far, without the breath of God, which is the trueſt conſuming flame, my Philoſophy cannot inform me. Some beleive there went not a Minute to the Worlds Creation, nor ſhall there go to its deſtruction; thoſe ſix dayes ſo punctually deſcribed, make not to them one moment, but rather ſeem to manifeſt the method and Idea of the great work of the intellect of God, than the manner how he proceeded in its operation. I cannot dream that there ſhould be at the laſt day any ſuch Judicial proceeding, or calling to the Bar, as indeed the Scripture ſeems to imply, and the literal Commentators do conceive: for unſpeakable myſteries in the Scriptures are often delivered in a vulgar and illuſtrative way; and being written unto man, are delivered, not as they truely are, but as they may be underſtood; wherein notwithſtanding the different interpretations according to different capacities may ſtand firm with our devotion, nor be any way prejudicial to each ſingle edification.

Sect. 46. Now to determine the day and year of this inevitable time, is not onely convincible and ſtatute-madneſs, but alſo manifeſt impiety: *How ſhall we interpret *Elias* 6000 years,] or imagine the ſecret communicated to a Rabbi, which God hath denyed unto his Angels? It had been an excellent quære to have poſed the Devil of *Delphos*, and muſt needs have forced him to ſome ſtrange amphibology; it hath not onely mocked the predictions of ſundry Aſtrologers in Ages paſt, but the Propheſies of many melancholy Heads in theſe preſent; who neither underſtanding reaſonably things paſt or preſent, pretend a knowledge of things to come. Heads ordained onely to manifeſt the incredible effects of melancholy, and to fulfil old prophecies, rather than be Authors of new. [In thoſe days there ſhall come Wars, and Rumors of Wars.] to me ſeems no Propheſie, but a conſtant truth in all times verified ſince it was pronounced: There ſhall be ſigns in the Moon and Stars; how comes he then like a Thief in the night, when he gives an *Item* of his coming? That common ſign drawn from the Revelation of Antichriſt, is as obſcure as any; in our common compute he hath been come theſe many years; but for my own part to ſpeak

In thoſe days there ſhall come Lyars and falſe Prophets.

ſpeak freely, I am half of opinion that Antichriſt is the Philoſophers Stone in Divinity, for the diſcovery and invention whereof, though there be preſcribed Rules, and probable inductions, yet hath hardly any man attained the perfect diſcovery thereof. That general opinion that the World grows near its end, hath poſſeſſed all Ages paſt as nearly as ours; I am afraid that the Souls that now depart, cannot eſcape that lingring expoſtulation of the Saints under the Altar, *Quouſque Domine? How long, O Lord:* and groan in the expectation of that great Jubilee.

This is the day that muſt make good that great attribute of God, *Sect.* 47.
his Juſtice; that muſt reconcile thoſe unanſwerable doubts that torment the wiſeſt underſtandings; and reduce thoſe ſeeming inequalities and reſpective diſtributions in this world, to an equality and recompenſive Juſtice in the next. This is that one day, that ſhall include and comprehend all that went before it; wherein, as in the laſt Scene, all the Actors muſt enter, to compleate and make up the Cataſtrophe of this great peice. This is the day whoſe memory hath only power to make us honeſt in the dark, and to be vertuous without a Witneſs. * *Ipſa ſui pretium virtus ſibi*] that Vertue is her own reward, is but a cold Principle, and not able to maintain our variable reſolutions in a conſtant and ſetled way of goodneſs. I have practiſed || that honeſt artifice of *Seneca*, ‡ and in my retired and ſolitary imaginations, to detain me from the foulneſs of vice, have fancied to my ſelf the preſence of my dear and worthieſt Friends, before whom I ſhould loſe my Head, rather than be vitious; yet herein I found that there was nought but moral honeſty, and this was not to be vertuous for his ſake who muſt reward us at laſt. * I have tryed if I could reach that great reſolution of his, to be honeſt without a thought of Heaven or Hell,] and indeed I found upon a natural inclination, and inbred loyalty unto vertue, that I could ſerve her without a livery, yet not in that reſolved and venerable way, but that the frailty of my nature, upon any eaſie temptation, might be induced to forget her. The life therefore and Spirit of all our Actions, is the Reſurrection, and ſtable apprehenſion that our Aſhes ſhall enjoy the Fruit of our pious endeavours; without this, all Religion is a Fallacy, and thoſe impieties of *Lucian*, *Euripides*, and *Julian*, are no blaſphemies, but ſubtile verities, * and Atheiſts have been the only Philoſophers.]

How ſhall the dead ariſe, is no queſtion of my Faith; to believe *Sect.* 48.
onely poſſibilities, is not Faith, but meer Philoſophy: many things are true in Divinity, which are neither inducible by reaſon, nor confirmable by ſenſe; and many things in Philoſophy confirmable by ſenſe, yet not inducible by reaſon. Thus it is impoſſible by any ſolid or demonſtrative reaſons to perſwade a man to believe the converſion of the Needle to the North; though this be poſſible and true, and eaſily credible,

credible, upon a single experiment unto the sense. I believe that our estranged and divided Ashes shall unite again; that our separated Dust after so many Pilgrimages and transformations into the parts of Minerals, Plants, Animals, Elements shall at the Voice of God return into their primitive shapes, and joyn again to make up their primary and predestinate forms. As at the Creation there was a separation of that confused Mass into its pieces; so at the destruction thereof there shall be a separation into its distinct individuals. As at the Creation of the World, all the distinct species that we behold, lay involved in one Mass, till the fruitful Voice of God seperated this united multitude into its several species: so at the last day, when those corrupted reliques shall be scattered in the Wilderness of Forms, and seem to have forgot their proper habits, * God by a powerful Voice shall command them back into their proper shapes,] and call them out by their single individuals: Then shall appear the fertility of *Adam*, and the Magick of that Sperm that hath dilated into so many millions. I have often beheld as a Miracle, that artificial Resurrection and Revification of *Mercury*, how being mortified into a thousand shapes, it assumes again its own, and returns into its numerical self. Let us speak naturally, and like Philosophers, the forms of alterable bodies in these sensible corruptions perish not; nor as we imagine, wholly quit their mansions, but retire and contract themselves into their secret and unaccessible parts, where they may best protect themselves from the Action of their Antagonist. A Plant or Vegetable consumed to Ashes, by a contemplative and schoolPhilosopher seems utterly destroyed, and the form to have taken his leave for ever: But to a sensible Artist the forms are are not perished, but withdrawn into their incombustible part, where they lye secure from the Action of that devouring Element. This is made good by experience, which can from the Ashes of a Plant revive the Plant, and from its Cinders recall it into its Stalks and Leaves again. What the Art of man can do in these inferiour pieces, what blasphemy is it to affirm the Finger of God cannot do in these more perfect and sensible structures? This is that mystical Philosophy, from whence no true Scholar becomes an Atheist, but from the visible effects of nature grows up a real Divine, and beholds not in a Dream, as *Ezekiel*, but in an ocular and visible object, the Types of his Resurrection.

Sect. 49. Now the necessary Mansions of our restored selves, are those two contrary and incompatible places we call Heaven and Hell; to define them, or strictly to determine what and where these are, surpasseth my Divinity. That elegant Apostle which seemed to have a glimpse of Heaven, hath left but a negative description thereof; *which neither Eye hath seen, nor Ear hath heard, nor can enter into the Heart of Man*: he was translated out of himself to behold it; but being returned

returned into himself could not express it. Saint *Johns* description by Emeralds, Chrystalls and pretious Stones, is too weak to express the material Heaven we behold. Briefly therefore, where the Soul hath the full measure, and the complement of happiness; where the boundless Appetite of that Spirit remains compleatly satisfied, that it can neither desire addition nor alteration, that I think is truely Heaven: and this can onely be in the enjoyment of that essence, whose infinite goodness is able to terminate the desires of its self, and the unsatiable wishes of ours; where-ever God will thus manifest himself, there is Heaven, though within the circle of this sensible World. Thus the Soul of man may be in Heaven any where, even within the limits of his own proper body; and when it ceaseth to live in the body, it may remain in its own *Soul*, that is, its Creator. And thus we may say that Saint *Paul*, whether in the body, or out of the body, was yet in Heaven. To place it in the Empyreal, or beyond the tenth Sphear, is to forget the worlds destruction; for when this sensible World shall be destroyed, all shall then be here as it is now there, an Empyreal Heaven, a *quasi* vacuity; when to ask where Heaven is, is to demand where the Presence of God is, or where we have the glory of that happy Vision. *Moses* that was bred up in all the Learning of the *Ægyptians*, committed a gross absurdity in Philosophy, when with these Eyes of Flesh he desired to see God, and petitioned his Maker, that is truth it self, to a contradiction. Those that imagine Heaven and Hell Neighbours, and conceive a vicinity between those two extreams, upon consequence of the Parable, where *Dives* discoursed with *Lazarus* in *Abrahams* bosome, do too grosly conceive of those glorified Creatures, whose Eyes shall easily out-see the Sun, and behold without perspective the extreamest distances: For if there shall be in our glorified Eyes, the faculty of sight and reception of Objects, I could think the visible species there to be in as unlimitable a way, as now the intellectual. I grant that two Bodies placed beyond the tenth Sphear, or in a vacuity, according to *Aristotles* Physiosophy, could not behold each other, because there wants a Body or Medium to hand and transport the visible Rayes of the Object unto the sense; but when there shall be a general defect of either Medium to convey, or light to prepare and dispose that Medium, and yet a perfect Vision, we must suspend the Rules of our Philosophy, and make all good by a more absolute piece of Opticks.

I cannot tell how to say that fire is the essence of Hell; I know not what to make of Purgatory, * or conceive a flame that can either prey upon, or purifie the substance of a soul:] those flames of sulphur

phur mention'd in the Scriptures, I take not to be understood of this present Hell, but of that to come, where fire shall make up the complement of our tortures, and have a body or subject wherein to manifest its tyranny : Some who have had the honour to be textuary in Divinity, are of opinion it shall be the same specifical fire with ours. This is hard to conceive, yet can I make good how even that may prey upon our bodies, and yet not consume us : For in this material world, there are bodies that persist invincible in the powerfullest flames; and though by the action of fire they fall into ignition and liquation, yet will they never suffer a destruction: I would gladly know how *Moses* with an actual fire calcin'd, or burnt the Golden Calf unto powder : For that mystical metal of Gold, whose solary and celestial nature I admire, exposed unto the violence of fire, grows only hot and liquifies, but consumeth not; so when the consumable & volatile pieces of our bodies shall be refined into a more impregnable and fixed temper, like Gold, though they suffer from the actions of flames, they shall never perish, but lye immortal in the arms of fire. And surely, if this frame must suffer only by the action of this element, there will many bodies escape; and not only, Heaven but Earth will not be at an end, but rather a beginning. For at present it is not Earth, but a composition of *Fire*, Water, *Earth*, and Air; but at that time, spoiled of these ingredients, it shall appear in a substance more like it self, its ashes. *Philosophers* that opinioned the worlds destruction by fire, did never dream of annihilation, which is beyond the power of sublunary causes; for the last and proper action of that Element is but vitrification, or a reduction of a body into glass; and therefore some of our Chymicks facetiously affirm, that at the last fire all shall be christall zed and reverberated into glass, which is the utmost action of that Element. Nor need we fear this term [annihilation] or wonder that God will destroy the works of his Creation; For man subsisting, who is, and will then truly appear a Microcosm, the world cannot be said to be destroyed. For the eyes of God, and perhaps also of our glorified selves, shall as really behold and contemplate the world in its Epitome or contracted essence, as now it doth at large and in its dilated substance. In the seed of a Plant to the eyes of God, and to the understanding of man, there exists, though in an invisible way, the perfect leaves, flowers, and fruit thereof; (for things that are in *posse* to the sense, are actually existent to the understanding.) Thus God beholds all things, who contemplates as fully his works in their Epitome, as in their full volume; and beheld as amply the whole world in that little compendium of the sixth day, as in the scattered and dilated pieces of those five before.

Men

Men commonly ſet forth the torments of Hell by Fire, and the extremity of corporal Afflictions, and deſcribe *Hell* in the ſame method that *Mahomet* doth *Heaven*. This indeed makes a noiſe, and Drums in popular Ears: but if this be the terrible piece thereof, it is not worthy to ſtand in diameter with Heaven, whoſe happineſs conſiſts in that part that is beſt able to comprehend it, that immortal eſſence, that tranſlated Divinity and Colony of God, the Soul. Surely though we place Hell under Earth, the Devil's walk and purlue is about it: Men ſpeak too popularly who place it in thoſe flaming Mountains, which to groſſer apprehenſions repreſent Hell. The *Heart* of Man is the place the Devils dwell in; I feel ſometimes a *Hell* within my ſelf; *Lucifer* keeps his Court in my Breaſt; *Legion* is revived in me. * There are as many Hells, as *Anaxagoras* conceited Worlds.] there was more than one Hell in *Magdalene*, when there were ſeven Devils; for every Devil is an Hell unto himſelf; he holds enough of torture in his own *ubi*, and needs not the miſery of circumference to afflict him: and thus a diſtracted Conſcience here, is a ſhadow or introduction unto Hell hereafter. Who can but pity the merciful intention of thoſe hands that do deſtroy themſelves? the Devil were it in his power would do the like; which being impoſſible, his miſeries are endleſs, and he ſuffers moſt in that attribute wherein he is impaſſible, his immortality. *Sect.* 51.

I thank God that with joy I mention it, I was never afraid of Hell, nor never grew pale at the deſcription of that place; I have ſo fixed my contemplations on Heaven, that I have almoſt forgot the Idea of Hell, and am afraid rather to loſe the Joyes of the one, than endure the miſery of the other; to be deprived of them, is a perfect *Hell*, and needs methinks no addition to compleat our afflictions; that terrible term hath never detained me from ſin, nor do I owe any good action to the name thereof: I fear God, yet am not afraid of him; his Mercies make me aſhamed of my ſins, before his Judgements afraid thereof: theſe are the forced and ſecondary method of his wiſdom, which he uſeth but as the laſt remedy, and upon provocation; a courſe rather to deter the wicked, than incite the vertuous to his worſhip, I can hardly think there was ever any ſcared into *Heaven*; they go the faireſt way to *Heaven*, that would ſerve God without a *Hell*; other Mercenaries, that crouch unto him in fear of *Hell*, though they term themſelves the Servants, are indeed but the Slaves of the Almighty. *Sect.* 52.

And to be true, and ſpeak my Soul, when I ſurvey the occurrences of my Life, and call into account the Finger of God, I can perceive nothing but an Abyſs and Maſs of Mercies, either in general to mankind, or in particular to my ſelf: and whether out of the prejudice of my affection, or an inverting and partial conceit of his *Sect.* 53.

 mercies,

mercies, I know not; but those which others term Crosses, Afflictions, Judgements, Misfortunes, to me, who inquire farther into them than their visible effects, they both appear, and in event have ever proved the secret and dissembled favours of his affection. It is a singular piece of Wisdom to apprehend truly, and without passion, the Works of God, and so well to distinguish his Justice from his Mercy, as not mis-call those noble Attributes: yet it is likewise an honest piece of Logick, so to dispute and argue the proceedings of God, as to distinguish even his judgements into mercies. For God is merciful unto all, because better to the worst, than the best deserve; and to say he punisheth none in this world, though it be a *Paradox*, is no absurdity. To one that hath committed *Murther*, if the Judge should only ordain a Fine, it were a madness to call this punishment, and to repine at the sentence, rather than admire the Clemency of the Judge: Thus our offences being mortal, and deserving not only Death, but Damnation; if the goodness of God be content to traverse and pass them over with a loss, misfortune, or disease, what Frenzie were it to term this punishment, rather than an extremity of mercy; and to groan under the Rod of his Iudgements, rather than admire the Scepter of his Mercies? Therefore to adore, honour, and admire him, is a Debt of Gratitude due from the Obligation of our Nature, States, and Conditions; and with these thoughts, he that knows them best, will not deny that I adore him. That I obtain *Heaven*, and the bliss thereof, is accidental, and not the intended work of my devotion; it being a felicity I can neither think to deserve, nor scarce in modesty to expect. For those two ends of us all, either as rewards or punishments, are mercifully ordained and disproportionably disposed unto our Actions; the one being so far beyond our deserts, the other so infinitely below our demerits,

Sect 54. There is no Salvation to those that believe not in Christ, that is, say some, since his Nativity, and as Divinity affirmeth, before also; which makes me much apprehend the end of those honest Worthies and Philosophers which dyed before his Incarnation. * It is hard to place those Souls in *Hell*] whose worthy *Lives* do teach us Vertue on Earth: methinks amongst those many Subdivisions of *Hell*, there might have been one *Limbo* left for these. What a strange Vision will it be to see their Poetical fictions converted into Verities, and their imagined and fancied *Furies*, into real Devils? how strange to them will sound the *History* of *Adam*, when they shall suffer for him they never heard of? when they derive their Genealogy from the Gods, shall know they are the unhappy issue of sinful man? It is an insolent part of reason, to controvert the Work or God, of question the Justice of his proceedings. Could *Humility* teach others, as it hath instructed me, to contemplate the infinite and incomprehensible

ſible diſtance betwixt the Creator and the Creature; or did we ſeriouſly perpend that one Simile of St. *Paul*, *Shall the Veſſel ſay to the Potter, why haſt thou made me thus?* it would prevent theſe arrogant diſputes of reaſon, nor would we argue the definitive ſentence of God, either to Heaven or Hell. Men that live according to the right rule and law of reaſon, live but in their own kind, as beaſts do in theirs; who juſtly obey the preſcript of their natures, and therefore cannot reaſonably demand a reward of their actions, as only obeying the natural dictates of their reaſon. It will therefore, and muſt at laſt appear, that all ſalvation is through Chriſt; which verity, I fear, theſe great examples of vertue muſt confirm and make it good, how the perfecteſt actions of earth have no title or claim unto Heaven.

Nor truly do I think the lives of theſe, or of any other were ever correſpondent, or in all points conformable unto their doctrine; it is evident that * *Ariſtotle* tranſgreſſed the rule of his own Ethicks;] the Stoicks that condemn paſſion, and command a man to laugh in *Phalaris* his Bull, could not endure without a groan a fit of the Stone or Cholick. ‖ The *Sceptick* that affirmed they knew nothing,] even in that opinion confute themſelves, and thought they knew more than all the world beſide. *Diogenes* I hold to be the moſt vain-glorious man of his time, and more ambitious in refuſing all Honours, than *Alexander* in rejecting none. Vice and the Devil put a Fallacy upon our Reaſons, and provoking us too haſtily to run from it, entangle and profound us deeper in it. * The Duke of *Venice*, that weds himſelf unto the Sea, by a Ring of Gold.] I will not accuſe of prodigality, becauſe it is a ſolemnity of good ute and conſequence in the State: ‖ But the Philoſopher that threw his mony into the *Sea* to avoid Avarice, was a notorious prodigal,] There is no road or ready way to vertue; it is not an eaſie point of Art to diſentangle our ſelves from this riddle, or web of Sin: To perfect vertue, as to Religion, there is required a *Panoplia*, or compleat armour; that whil'ſt we lye at cloſe ward againſt one Vice, we lye not open to the venny of another: And indeed wiſer diſcretions that have the thread of reaſon to conduct them, offend without pardon; whereas, under-heads may ſtumble without diſhonour. * There are ſo many circumſtances to piece up one good action, that it is a leſſon to be good, and we are forced to be vertuous by the book] Again, the Practice of men holds not an equal pace; yea, and often runs counter to their Theory; we naturally know what is good, but naturally purſue what is evil: the Rhetorick wherewith I perſwade another, cannot perſwade

Sect. 55.

my self: There is a depraved appetite in us, that will with patience hear the learned instructions of reason, but yet perform no farther than agrees to its own irregular humour. In brief, we all are Monsters, that is, a composition of Man and Beast, wherein we must endeavour to be as the Poets fancy that wise man *Chiron*, that is, to have the Region of Man above that of Beast, and Sense to sit but at the feet of Reason. Lastly, I do desire with God, that all, but yet affirm with men, that few shall know salvation; that the bridge is narrow, the passage straight unto life: yet those who do confine the Church of God, either to particular Nations, Churches or Families, have made it far narrower than our Saviour ever meant it.

Sect. 56. * The vulgarity of those Judgements that wrap the Church of God in *Strabo*'s cloak, and restrain it unto *Europe*,] seem to me as bad Geographers as *Alexander*, who thought he had Conquer'd all the world, when he had not subdued the half of any part thereof: For we cannot deny the Church of God both in *Asia*, and *Africa*, if we do not forget the Perigrinations of the Apostles, the deaths of the Martyrs, the Sessions of many, and, even in our reformed judgement, lawful Councils, held in those parts in the minority and nonage of ours: nor must a few differences, more remarkable in the eyes of man, than perhaps in the judgement of God, excommunicate from Heaven one another, much less those Christians who are in a manner all *Martyrs*, maintaining their Faith in the noble way of persecution, and serving God in the Fire, whereas we honour him in the Sun-shine.

'Tis true, we all hold there is a number of Elect, and many to be saved, yet take our Opinions together, and from the confusion thereof, there will be no such thing as salvation, nor shall any one be saved; for first the Church of *Rome* condemneth us, we likewise them; the Sub-reformists and Sectaries sentence the Doctrine of our Church as damnable; the Atomist, or Familist, reprobates all these; and all these, them again. Thus whilst the mercies of God do promise us Heaven, our conceits and opinions exclude us from that place. There must be therefore more than one St. *Peter*; particular Churches and Sects usurp the gates of Heaven, and turn the key against each other: and thus we go to Heaven against each others wills, conceits, and opinions, and with as much uncharity, as ignorance, do err, I fear, in points not only of our own, but one anothers salvation.

Sect. 57. I believe many are saved, who to man seem reprobated; and many are reprobated, who in the opinion and sentence of man stand elected: there will appear at the last day, strange and unexpected examples, both of his Justice and his *Mercy*; and therefore to define

fine either, is folly in man, and insolency even in the Devils: those acute and subtile *Spirits* in all their sagacity, can hardly divine who shall be saved; which if they could Prognostick, their labour were at an end; nor need they compass the Earth seeking whom they may devour. * Those who upon a rigid Application of the Law, sentence *Solomon* unto damnation] condemn not only him, but themselves, and the whole World; for by the Letter, and written Word of God, we are without exception in the state of Death, but there is a *Prerogative* of God, and an arbitrary pleasure above the Letter of his own Law, by which alone we can pretend unto Salvation, and through which *Solomon* might be as as easily saved as those who condemn him.

The number of those who pretend unto Salvation, and those infinite swarms who think to pass through the Eye of this Needle, have much amazed me. That name and compellation of *little Flock*, doth not comfort, but deject my Devotion; especially when I reflect upon mine own unworthiness, wherein, according to my humble apprehensions, I am below them all. I believe there shall never be an Anarchy in *Heaven*; but as there are *Hierarchies* amongst the Angels, so shall there be degrees of priority amongst the Saints. Yet is it (I protest) beyond my ambition to aspire unto the first ranks; my desires only are, and I shall be happy therein, to be but the last man, and bring up the Rear in *Heaven*. *Sect.* 58.

Again, I am confident, and fully perswaded, yet dare not take my Oath of my Salvation: I am as it were sure, and do believe without all doubt, that there is such a City as *Constantinople*; yet for me to take my Oath thereon, were a kind of Perjury, because I hold no infallible warrant from my own sense to confirm me in the certainty thereof: And truely, though many pretend to an absolute certainty of their Salvation, yet when an humble Soul shall contemplate our own unworthiness, she shall meet with many doubts, and suddenly find how little we stand in need of the precept of St. *Paul*, *Work out your Salvation with fear and trembling*. That which is the cause of my Election, I hold to be the cause of my Salvation, which was the mercy and beneplacit of God, before I was, or the Foundation of the World. *Before Abraham was, I am*, is the saying of Christ; yet is it true in some sense, if I say it of my self; for I was not only before my self, but *Adam*, that is in the Idea of God, and the decree of that Synod held from all Eternity. And in this sense, I say, the World was before the Creation, and at an end before it had a beginning; and thus was I dead before I was alive; though my Grave be *England*, my dying place was Paradise; and *Eve* miscarried of me, before she conceived of *Cain*. *Sect.* 59.

Insolent

Sect. 60. Inſolent zeals that do decry good Works, and rely only upon Faith, take not away merit: for depending upon the efficacy of their Faith, they enforce the condition of God, and in a more ſophiſtical way do ſeem to challenge *Heaven*. It was decreed by God, that only thoſe that lapt in the Water like Dogs, ſhould have the honour to deſtroy the *Midianites*; yet could none of thoſe juſtly challenge, or imagine he deſerved that honour thereupon. I do not deny, but that true Faith, and ſuch as God requires, is not only a Mark or Token, but alſo a means of our Salvation; but where to find this, is as obſcure to me, as my laſt end. And if our Saviour could object unto his own Diſciples and Favourites, a Faith, that, to the quantity of a Grain of Muſtard ſeed, is able to remove Mountains; ſurely that which we boaſt of, is not any thing, or at the moſt, but a remove from nothing. This is the Tenor of my Belief; wherein, though there be many things ſingular, and to the humour of my irregular ſelf; yet if they ſquare not with maturer judgements, I diſclaim them, and do no further favour them, than the learned and beſt judgements ſhall authorize them.

THE

THE SECOND PART.

NOw for that other Vertue of Charity, without which Faith is a meer notion, and of no exiſtence, I have ever endeavoured to nouriſh the merciful diſpoſition and humane inclination I borrowed from my Parents, and regulate it to the written and preſcribed Laws of Charity; and if I hold the true Anatomy of my ſelf, I am delineated and naturally framed to ſuch a piece of Vertue: for I am of a Conſtitution ſo general, that it comforts and ſympathizeth with all things; I have no antipathy, or rather Idio-ſyncraſie, in dyet, humour, air, any thing: * I wonder not at the *French* for their Diſhes of Frogs, Snails] and Toadſtoals nor at the *Jews* for *Locuſts* and *Graſhoppers*; but being amongſt them, make them my common Viands; and I find they agree with my Stomack as well as theirs. I could digeſt a Sallad gathered in a Church yard, as well as in a Garden. I cannot ſtart at the preſence of a Serpent, Scorpion, Lizard, or Salamander; at the ſight of a Toad or Viper, I find in me no deſire to take up a Stone to deſtroy them. I feel not in my ſelf thoſe common Antipathies that I can diſcover in others: Thoſe National repugnances do not touch me, nor do I behold with prejudice the *French*, *Italian*, *Spaniard* and *Dutch*; but where I find their actions in ballance with my Country-men's, I honour, love, and embrace them in ſome degree: I was born in the eighth Climate, but ſeem for to be framed and conſtellated unto all: I am no Plant that will not proſper out of a Garden. All places, all Airs make unto me one Country; I am in *England*, every where, and under any Meridian: I have been ſhipwrackt, yet am not Enemy with the Sea or Winds; I can ſtudy, play or ſleep in a Tempeſt. In breif, I am averſe from nothing; my Conſcience would give me the lye if I ſhould abſolutely deteſt or hate any eſſence, but the Devil; or ſo at leaſt abhor any thing, but that we might come to compoſition. If there be any among thoſe common objects of hatred I do contemn and laugh at, it is that great Enemy of Reaſon, Vertue, *Sect.* 1.

Vertue and Religion, the Multitude; that numerous peice of monſtroſity, which taken aſunder, ſeem men, and the reaſonable Creatures of God; but confuſed together, make but one great Beaſt, and a monſtrohity more prodigious then *Hydra*: it is no breach of Charity to call theſe Fools; it is the ſtyle all holy Writers have afforded them, ſet down by *Solomon* in Canonical Scripture, and a point of our Faith to believe ſo. Neither in the name of Multitude, do I only include the the baſe and minor ſort of People; there is a rabble even amongſt the Gentry, a ſort of Plebeian heads, whoſe fancy moves with the ſame Wheel as theſe; Men in the ſame Level with *Mechanicks*, though their fortunes do ſomewhat guild their infirmities, and their Purſes compound for their follies. But as in caſting account, three or four men together come ſhort in account of one man placed by himſelf below them; ſo neither are a Troop of theſe ignorant *Doradoes* of that true eſteem and value, as many a forlorn perſon, whoſe condition doth place him below their Feet. Let us ſpeak like *Politicians*, there is a Nobility without Heraldry, a natural dignity, whereby one man is ranked with another, another filed before him, according to the quality of his Deſert, and preheminence of his good parts. Though the corruption of theſe times, and the byas of preſent practice wheel another way; thus it was in the firſt and primitive Common-wealths, and is yet in the integrity and Cradle of well order'd *Polities*, till corruption getteth ground; ruder deſires labouring after that which wiſer conſiderations contemn, every one having a liberty to amaſs and heap up riches, and they a licenſe or faculty to do or purchaſe any thing.

Sect. 2. This general and indifferent temper of mine, doth more neerly diſpoſe me to this noble vertue. It is a happineſs to be born and framed unto vertue, and to grow up from the Seeds of Nature, rather than the inoculations and forced graffs of *Education*: yet if we are directed only by our particular Natures, and regulate our inclinations by no higher rule than that of our reaſons, we are but Moraliſts; Divinity will ſtill call us *Heathens*. Therefore this great work of Charity, muſt have other motives, ends, and impulſions: I give no Alms to ſatisfie the hunger of my Brother, but to fulfil and accompliſh the Will and Command of my God; I draw not my Purſe for his ſake that demands it, but his that enjoyned it; I relieve no man upon the *Rhetorick* of his miſeries, nor to content mine own commiſerating diſpoſition; for this is ſtill but moral Charity, and an Act that oweth more paſſion than reaſon. He that relieves another upon the bare ſuggeſtion and bowels of pity, doth not this ſo much for his ſake, as for his own: for by compaſſion we make others miſery our own; and ſo by relieving them, we relieve our ſelves alſo. It is as erroneous a conceit to redreſs other Mens misfortunes upon the common conſiderations of merciful natures, that it

it may be one day our own caſe; for this is a ſiniſter and politick kind of Charity, whereby we ſeem to beſpeak the pities of men in the like occaſions; and truely I have obſerved that thoſe profeſſed Eleemoſynaries, though in a croud or multitude, do yet direct and place their petitions on a few and ſelected perſons; there is ſurely a Phyſiognomy, which thoſe experienced and Maſter Mendicants obſerve, whereby they inſtantly diſcover a merciful aſpect, and will ſingle out a face, wherein they ſpy the ſignatures and marks of mercy. For there are myſtically in our faces certain Characters which carry in them the motto of our Souls, wherein he that can read *A. B. C.* may read our natures. I hold moreover that there is a Phytognomy, or Phyſiognomy, not only of men, but of Plants and Vegetables; and in every one of them, ſome outward figures which hang as ſignes or buſhes of their inward forms. The Finger of God hath left an Inſcription upon all his works, not graphical, or compoſed of Letters, but of their ſeveral forms, conſtitutions, parts, and operations, which aptly joyned together do make one word that doth expreſs their natures. By theſe Letters God calls the Stars by their names; and by this Alphabet *Adam* aſſigned to every Creature a name peculiar to its nature. Now there are beſides theſe Characters in our Faces, certain myſtical figures in our Hands, which I dare not call meer daſhes, ſtrokes, *a la volee*, or at random, becauſe delineated by a Pencil that never works in vain; and hereof I take more particular notice, becauſe I carry that in mine own hand, which I could never read of, nor diſcover in another. *Ariſtotle* I confeſs, in his acute, and ſingular Book of Phyſiognomy, hath made no mention of Chiromancy; yet I believe the *Egyptians*, who were nearer addicted to thoſe abſtruſe and myſtical Sciences, had a knowledg therein; to which thoſe vagabond and counterfeit *Egyptians* did after pretend, and perhaps retained a few corrupted principles, which ſometimes might veriſie their prognoſticks.

It is the common wonder of all men, * how among ſo many millions of faces, there ſhould be none alike:] Now contrary, I wonder as much how there ſhould be any alike: he that ſhall conſider how many thouſand ſeveral words have been ſeriouſly and without ſtudy compoſed out of 24. Letters; withall, how many hundred lines there are to be drawn in the Fabrick of one Man; ſhall eaſily finde that this variety is neceſſary: And it will be very hard that they ſhall ſo concur, as to make one portract like another. Let a Painter careleſly limb out a million of Faces, and you ſhall find them all different; yea let him have his Copy before him, yet after all his art there will remain a ſenſible diſtinction; for the pattern or example of every thing is the per-

 feeteſt

fectest in that kiud, whereof we still come short, though we transcend or go beyond it, because herein it is wide, and agrees not in all points unto the Copy. Nor doth the Similitude of Creatures disparage the variety of nature, nor any way confound the Works of God. For even in things alike there is diversity; and those that do seem to accord, do manifestly disagree. And thus is man like God; for in the same things that we resemble him, we are utterly different from him. There was never any thing so like another, as in all points to concur; there will ever some reserved difference slip in, to prevent the identity, without which two several things would not be alike, but the same, which is impossible.

Sect. 3. But to return from Philosophy to Charity; I hold not so narrow a conceit of this vertue, as to conceive that to give Alms, is only to be Charitable, or think a piece of Liberallity can comprehend the Total of Charity; Divinity hath wisely divided the act thereof into many branches, and hath taught us in this narrow way, many paths unto goodness: as many wayes as we may do good, so many wayes we may be charitable: there are infirmities not only of Body, but of Soul and Fortunes, which do require the merciful hand of our abilities. I cannot contemn a man for ignorance, but behold him with as much pity as I do *Lazarus*. It is no greater Charity to cloath his body, than apparel the nake dness of his Soul. It is an honourable object to see the reasons of other men wear our Liveries, and their borrowed understandings do homage to the bounty of ours: It is the cheapest way of beneficence, and like the natural charity of the Sun, illuminates another without obscuring it self. To be reserved and caitiff in this part of goodness, is the sordidest piece of covetousness, and more contemptible than the pecuniary Avarice. To this (as calling my self a Scholar) I am obliged by the duty of my condition; I make not therefore my head a grave, but a treasure of knowledge; *I* intend no Monopoly, but a community in learning; I study not for my own sake only, but for theirs that study not for themselves. I envy no man that knows more than my self, but pity them that know less. I instruct no man as an exercise of my knowledge, or with an intent rather to nourish and keep it alive in mine own head, than beget and propagate it in his; and in the midst of all my endeavours, there is but one thought that dejects me, that my acquired parts must perish with my self, nor can be Legacyed among my honoured *Friends*. I cannot fall out, or contemn a man for an errour, or conceive why a difference in Opinion should divide an affection. for Controversies, Disputes, and Argumentations, both in *Philosophy*, and in Divinity, if they meet with dis-

discreet and peaceable natures, do not infringe the Laws of Charity: in all disputes, so much as there is of passion, so much there is of nothing to the purpose; for then Reason, like a bad Hound, spends upon a false Sent, and forsakes the question first started. And in this is one reason why Controversies are never determined; for though they be amply proposed, they are scarce at all handled, they do so swell with unnecessary Digressions; and the *Parenthesis* on the party, is often as large as the main Discourse upon the Subject. The Foundations of Religion are already established, and the Principles of Salvation subscribed unto by all; there remains not many Controversies worthy a Passion, and yet never any disputed without, not only in Divinity, but inferiour Arts: * What a βαρροχομυομαχία and hot skirmish is betwixt *S.* and *T.* in *Lucian*:] How do Grammarians hack and slash for the Genitive Case in *Jupiter*? How they do break their own Pates, to salve that of *Priscian*? *Si foret in terris, rideret Democritus.* Yea, even amongst wiser militants, how many Wounds have been given, and credits slain, for the poor victory of an opinion, or beggerly conquest of a distinction? Scholars are men of Peace, they bear no Arms, || but their Tongues are sharper than *Actius* Razor;] their Pens carry farther, and give a lowder report than Thunder: I had rather stand in the shock of a *Basilisco*, than in the fury of a merciless Pen. It is not meer Zeal to Learning, or Devotion to the *Muses*, that wiser Princes Patron the Arts, and carry an indulgent Aspect unto Scholars; but a desire to have their names eternized by the memory of their writings, and a fear of the revengful Pen of succeeding Ages: for these are the men, that when they have played their parts, and had their *exits*, must step out and give the moral of their Scenes, and deliver unto Posterity an Inventory of their Vertues and Vices. And surely there goes a great deal of Conscience to the compiling of an History: there is no reproach to the Scandal of a Story; it is such an authentick kind of falshood, that with authority belies our good names to all Nations and Posterity.

There is another offence unto Charity, which no Author hath ever written of, and few take notice of, and that's the reproach, not of whole professions, mysteries and conditions, but of whole Nations, wherein by opprobious Epithets we miscal each other, and by an uncharitable Logick, from a disposition in a few, conclude a habit in all. *Sect.* 4.

Le mutin Anglois, & le bravache Escossois;
Le bougre Italian, & le fol Francois;
Le poultron Romani, le larron de Gascongne,
L'Espagnol superbe, & l' Aleman yur ongne.

 * *St Paul,*

* St. *Paul*, that calls the *Cretians* Lyers, doth it but indirectly, and upon quotation of their own Poets.] ‖ It is as bloody a thought in one way; as *Nero's* was in another. For by a word we wound a thouſand,] and at one blow aſſaſſine the honour of a Nation. It is as compleat a piece of madneſs to miſcal and rave againſt the times; or think to recal men to reaſon, by a fit of paſſion: *Democritus*, that thought to laugh the times into goodneſs, ſeems to me as deeply Hypochondriack, as *Heraclitus* that bewailed them; it moves not my Spleen to behold the multitude in their proper humours, that is, in their fits of folly and madneſs, as well underſtanding that wiſdom is not prophan'd unto the World, and 'tis the priviledge of a few to be Vertuous. They that endeavour to aboliſh Vice, deſtroy alſo Vertue; for contraries, though they deſtroy one another, are yet in life of one another. Thus Vertue (aboliſh Vice) is an Idea: again, the community of ſin doth not diſparage goodneſs; for when Vice gains upon the major part, Vertue in whom it remains, becomes more excellent; and being loſt in ſome, multiplies its goodneſs in others, which remain untouched, and perſiſt intire in the general inundation. I can therefore behold Vice without Satyr, content only with an admonition, or inſtructive reprehenſion; for Noble Natures, and ſuch as are capable of goodneſs, are railed into Vice, that might as eaſily be admoniſhed into Vertue; and we ſhould be all ſo far the Orators of goodneſs, as to protect her from the power of Vice, and maintain the cauſe of injured truth. No man can juſtly cenſure or condemn another; becauſe indeed no man truly knows another. This I perceive in my ſelf; for I am in the dark to all the World, and my neareſt Friends behold me but in a Cloud: thoſe that know me but ſuperficially, think leſs of me than I do of my ſelf; thoſe of my near acquaintance think more: God, who truly knows me, knows that I am nothing; for he only beholds me, and all the World, who looks not on us through a derived Ray, or a Trajection of a ſenſible Species, but beholds the ſubſtance without the help of accidents, and the forms of things, as we their Operations. Further, no man can judge another, becauſe no man knows himſelf; for we cenſure others but as they diſagree from that humour which we fancy laudable in our ſelves, and commend others but for that wherein they ſeem to quadrate and conſent with us. So that in concluſion, all is but that we all condemn, Self-love. 'Tis the general complaint of theſe times, and perhaps of thoſe paſt, that Charity grows cold; which I perceive moſt verified in thoſe which moſt do manifeſt the Fires and Flames of Zeal; for it is a Vertue that beſt agrees with coldeſt Natures, and ſuch as are complexioned for humility: But how ſhall we expect Charity towards others, when we are uncharitable to our ſelves? Charity begins at home, is the voice of the World; yet is every man his greateſt Enemy, and as it were

were, his own Executioner. *Non occides*, is the Commandment of God, yet ſcarce obſerved by any man; for I perceive every man is his own *Atropos*, and lends a hand to cut the Thred of his own days. *Cain* was not therefore the firſt Murtherer, but *Adam*, who brought in death; wherefore he beheld the practice and example in his own Son *Abel*, and ſaw that verified in the experience of another, which faith could not perſwade him in the Theory of himſelf.

There is I think, no man that apprehendeth his own miſeries leſs than my ſelf, and no man that ſo nearly apprehends anothers. I could loſe an Arm without a Tear, and with few Groans; methinks, be quartered into pieces; yet can I weep moſt ſeriouſly at a Play, and receive with true paſſion, the counterfeit Griefs of thoſe known and profeſſed Impoſtures. It is a barbarous part of inhumanity to add unto any afflicted parties miſery, or indeavour to multiply in any man, a paſſion, whoſe ſingle nature is already above his patience: this was the greateſt affliction of *Job*; and thoſe oblique expoſtulations of his Friends, a deeper injury than the down-right blows of the Devil. It is not the Tears of our own Eyes only, but of our Friends alſo, that do exhauſt the current of our ſorrows; which falling into many ſtreams, runs more peaceably, and is contented with a narrower Channel. It is an Act within the power of Charity, to tranſlate a paſſion out of one Breaſt into another, and to divide a ſorrow almoſt out of it ſelf; for an affliction, like a dimenſion, may be ſo divided, as if not indiviſible, at leaſt to become inſenſible. Now with my friend I deſire not to ſhare or participate, but to engroſs his ſorrows, that by making them mine own, I may more eaſily diſcuſs them; for in mine own reaſon, and within my ſelf, I can command that, which I cannot intreat without my ſelf, and within the circle of another. I have often read of thoſe noble pairs and examples of friendſhip, not ſo truly Hiſtories of what had been, as Fictions of what ſhould be; but I now perceive nothing in them but poſſibilities, nor any thing in the Heroick examples of *Damon* and *Pythias*, *Achilles* and *Patroclus*, which methinks upon ſome grounds I could not perform within the narrow compaſs of my ſelf. That a man ſhould lay down his life for his friend, ſeems ſtrange to vulgar affections, and ſuch as confine themſelves within that worldly principle, Charity begins at home. For mine own part, I could never remember the relations that I held unto my ſelf, nor the reſpect that I owe unto my own nature, in the cauſe of God, my Country, and my Friends. Next to theſe three, I do embrace my ſelf: I confeſs I do not obſerve that order that the Schools ordain our affections, to love our Parents, Wives, Children, and then our Friends; for excepting the injunction of Religion, I do not find in my ſelf ſuch a neceſſary and indiſſoluble Sympathy to all thoſe of my Blood. I hope I do not break the fifth Commandment, if I conceive *I* may love *Sect.* 5.

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my Friend before the neareſt of my Blood, even thoſe to whom I owe the Principles of life; I never yet cait a true affection on a Woman, but I have loved my friend as I do Vertue, my Soul, my God. From hence methinks I do conceive how God loves man, what happineſs there is in the love of God. Omitting all other, there are three moſt myſtical Unions; two Natures in one Perſon; three Perſons in one Nature; one Soul in two Bodies. For though indeed they be really divided, yet are they ſo united, as they ſeem but one, and make rather a duality than two diſtinct Souls.

There are wonders in true affection; it is a Body of *Enigma's*, My-
Sect. 6. ſteries and Riddles; wherein two ſo become one, as they both become two: I love my friend before my ſelf and yet methinks I do not love him enough: ſome few Months hence my multiplyed affection will make me beleive I have not loved him at all: when I am from him I am dead till I be with him; when I am with him I am not ſatisfied, but would ſtill be nearer him. United Souls are not ſatisfied with imbraces, but deſire to be truely each other; which being impoſſible, their deſires are infinite, and proceed without a poſſibility of ſatisfaction. Another miſery there is in affection, that whom we truely love like our own ſeles, we forget their looks, nor can our memory retain the Idea of their Faces; and it is no wonder: for they are our ſelves, and our affection makes their looks our own. This noble affection falls not on vulgar and common conſtitutions, but on ſuch as are mark'd for vertue: he that can love his Freind with this noble ardour, will in a competent degree affect all. Now if we can bring our affections to look beyond the Body, and caſt an Eye upon the Soul, we have found out the true object, not only of friendſhip, but Charity; and the greateſt happineſs that we can bequeath the Soul, is that wherein we all do place our laſt felicity, Salvation; which though it be not in our power to beſtow, it is in our Charity, and pious invocations to deſire, if not procure and further. I cannot contentedly frame a *Prayer* for my ſelf in particular, without a Catalogue for my Freinds; nor requeſt a happineſs wherein my ſociable diſpoſition doth not deſire the fellowſhip of my Neighbour. I never hear the Toll of a paſſing Bell, though in my mirth, without my *Prayers* and beſt wiſhes for the departing Spirit: I cannot go to cure the body of my *Patient*, but I forget my profeſſion, and call unto God for his Soul: I cannot ſee one ſay his *Prayers*, but inſtead of imitating him, I fall into ſupplication for him, who perhaps is no more to me than a common nature: and if God hath vouchſafed an Ear to my ſupplications, there are ſurely many happy that never ſaw me, and enjoy the bleſſing of mine unknown devotions. To pray for Enemies, that is, for their Salvation, is no harſh precept, but the practice of our daily and ordinary devotions. I cannot believe the ſtory of the *Italian*; [our bad wiſhes and uncharitable deſires proceed

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no further than this Life; it is the Devil, and the uncharitable votes of Hell, that deſire our miſery in the world to come.

To do no injury, nor take none; was a principle, which to my former years, and impatient affections, ſeemed to contain enough of Morality; but my more ſetled years, and Chriſtian conſtitution, have fallen upon ſeverer reſolutions. *I* can hold there is no ſuch thing as injury; that if there be, there is no ſuch injury as revenge, and no ſuch revenge as the contempt of an injury; that to hate another, is to malign himſelf; that the truſt way to love another is to deſpiſe our ſelves. I were unjuſt unto mine own Conſcience, if I ſhould ſay I am at variance with any thing like my ſelf. I find there are many pieces in this one *Fabrick* of man; this frame is raiſed upon a Maſs of Antipathies: I am one methinks, but as the World; wherein notwithſtanding there are a ſwarm of diſtinct eſſences, and in them another world of contrarieties; we carry private and domeſtick Enemies within, publick and more hoſtile Adverſaries without. The Devil, that did but buffet St. *Paul*, plays methinks at ſharp with me: Let me be nothing, if within the compaſs of my ſelf, I do not find the Battel of *Lepanto*, Paſſion againſt Reaſon, Reaſon againſt Faith, Faith againſt the Devil, and my Conſcience againſt all. There is another man within me, that's angry with me, rebukes, commands, and daſtards me. I have no Conſcience of *Marble*, to reſiſt the hammer of more heavy offences; nor yet too ſoft and waxen, as to take the impreſſion of each ſingle *Peccadillo* or ſcape of infirmity: I am of a ſtrange belief, that it is as eaſie to be forgiven ſome ſins, as to commit ſome others. For my Original ſin, I hold it to be waſhed away in my Baptiſm; for my actual tranſgreſſions, I compute and reckon with God, but from my laſt repentance, Sacrament, or general abſolution; and therefore am not terrified with the ſins or madneſs of my Youth. I thank the goodneſs of God, [*I have no ſins that want a name;] I am not ſingular in offences, my tranſgreſſions are Epidemical, and from the common breath of our corruption. For there are certain tempers of Body, which match with an humorous depravity of mind, do hatch and produce vitioſities, whoſe newneſs and monſtroſity of Nature admits no name; if this was the temper of that *Lecher* that carnal'd with a *Statua*]* and conſtitution of *Nero* in his Spintrian recreations.] For the Heavens are not only fruitful in new and unheard-of Stars, the Earth in Plants and Animals, but mens minds alſo in vilany and vices: now the dulneſs of my reaſon, and the vulgarity of my diſpoſition, never prompted my invention, nor ſollicited my affection unto any of thoſe; yet even thoſe common and quotidian infirmities that ſo neceſſarily attend me, and do ſeem to be my very nature, have ſo dejected me, ſo broken the eſtimation that I ſhould have otherwiſe of my ſelf, that I repute my ſelf the moſt abjecteſt

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piece of mortality : Divines preſcribe a fit of ſorrow to repentance : there goes indignation, anger, ſorrow, hatred, , into mine ; paſſions of a contrary nature, which neither ſeem to ſute with this action, nor my proper conſtitution. It is no breach of charity to our ſelves, to be at variance with our Vices ; nor to abhor that par of us, which is an enemy to the ground of Charity, our God ; wherein we do but imitate our great ſelves the World, whoſe divided Antipathies and contrary faces do yet carry a charitable regard unto the whole by their particular diſcords, preſerving the common harmony, and keeping in fetters thoſe powers, whoſe rebellions once Maſters, might be the ruine of all.

Sect. 8. I thank God, amongſt thoſe millions of Vices I do inherit and hold from *Adam*, I have eſcaped one, and that a mortal enemy to Charity, the firſt and father ſin, not only of man, but of the devil, Pride ; a vice whoſe name is comprehended in a Monoſyllable, but in its nature not circumſcribed with a world ; I have eſcaped it in a condition that can hardly avoid it : thoſe petty acquiſitions and reputed perfections that advance and elevate the conceits of other men, add no feathers unto mine. * I have ſeen a Grammarian Towr and Plume himſelf over a ſingle line in *Horace*,] and ſhew more pride in the conſtruction of one Ode, than the Author in the compoſure of the whole Book. For my own part, beſides the *Jargon* and *Patois* of ſeveral Provinces, I underſtand no leſs than ſix Languages ; yet I proteſt I have no higher conceit of my ſelf, than had our Fathers before the confuſion of *Babel*, when there was but one Language in the World, and none to boaſt himſelf either Linguiſt or Critick. I have not only ſeen ſeveral Countries, beheld the nature of their Climes, the Corography of their Provinces, Topography of their Cities, but underſtood their ſeveral Laws, Cuſtoms and Policies ; yet cannot all this perſwade the dulneſs of my ſpirit unto ſuch an opinion of my ſelf, as I behold in nimbler and conceited heads, that never looked a degree beyond their neſts. I know the names and ſomewhat more of all the Conſtellations in my Horizon ; yet I have ſeen a prating Mariner, that could only name the Pointers and the North-Star out-talk me, and conceit himſelf a whole Sphere above me. I know moſt of the Plants of my Country, and of thoſe about me ; yet methinks I do not know ſo many as when I did but know a hundred, and had ſcarcely ever Simpled further than Cheapſide : for indeed, heads of capacity and ſchas are not full with a handful, or eaſie meaſure of knowledge, think they know nothing till they know all, which being impoſſible, they fall upon the opinion of *Socrates*, and only know they know not any thing. * *I* cannot think that *Homer* pin'd away upon the Riddle of the Fiſherman] or ſi that *Ariſtotle*, who underſtood the uncertainty of knowledge, and confeſ-

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ed ſo often the Reaſon of Man too weak for the works of Nature, did ever drown himſelf upon the flux and reflux of *Euripus.*] We do but learn to day, what our better advanced judgements will unteach to morrow; and ‖ *Ariſtotle* doth not inſtruct us, as *Plato* did him; that is, to confute himſelf.] I have run through all ſorts, yet find no reſt in any: though our firſt ſtudies and *junior* endeavours may ſty'e us Peripateticks, Stoicks, or Academicks, ; yet I perceive the wiſeſt heads prove, at laſt, almoſt all Scepticks, and ſtand like *Janus* in the Field of knowledge. I have therefore one common and authentick Philoſophy I learned in the Schools, whereby I diſcourſe and ſatisfie the reaſon of other men; another more reſerved, and drawn from experience, whereby I content mine own. *Solomon*, that complained of ignorance in the height of knowledge, hath not only humbled my conceits, but diſcouraged my endeavours. There is yet another conceit that hath ſometimes made me ſhut my books, which tells me it is a vanity to waſte our days in the blind purſuit of knowledge; it is but attending a little longer, and we ſhall enjoy that by inſtinct and infuſion, which we endeavour all here by labour and inquiſition: it is better to ſit down in a modeſt ignorance, and reſt contented with the natural bleſſing of our own reaſons, than buy the uncertain knowledge of this life, with ſweat and vexation, which Death gives every fool *gratis*, and is an acceſſary of our glorification.

I was never yet once, and commend their reſolutions, who never *Sect. 9.* marry twice; not that I diſallow of ſecond marriage: as neither in all caſes of Polygamy, which conſidering ſometimes, and the unequal number of both Sexes, may be alſo neceſſary. The whole world was made for man, but the twelfth part of man for woman: Man is the whole world, and the Breath of God; Woman the Rib, and crooked piece of man. * I could be content that we might procreate like Trees] without conjunction, or that there were any way to perpetuate the world without this trivial and vulgar way of coition; it is the fooliſheſt act a wiſe man commits in all his life, nor is there any thing that will more deject his cool'd imagination, when he ſhall conſider what an odd and unworthy piece of folly he hath committed. I ſpeak not in prejudice, nor am averſe from that ſweet Sex, but naturally amorous of all that is beautiful; I can look a whole day with delight upon a handſome Picture, though it be but of an Horſe. It is my temper, and I like it the better, to affect all harmony; and ſure there is muſick even in the beauty, and the ſilent note which *Cupid* ſtrikes, far ſweeter than the ſound of an Inſtrument: For there is Muſick where ever there is a Harmony, order or proportion; and thus far we may maintain the Muſick of the Sphears: for thoſe well ordered motions, and regular paces, though they give no ſound unto the Ear, yet to the underſtanding they

ſtrike a note moſt full of harmony. Whatſoever is harmonically compoſed, delights in harmony; which makes me much diſtruſt the ſymmetry of thoſe heads which declaim againſt all Church-Muſick. For my ſelf, not only from my obedience, but my particular genius, I do embrace it: for even that vulgar and Tavern-*Muſick*, which makes one man merry, another mad, ſtrikes in me a deep fit of Devotion, and a profound contemplation of the firſt Compoſer, there is ſomething in it of Divinity more than the Ear diſcovers: it is an Hieroglyphical and ſhadowed Leſſon of the whole world, and Creatures of God, ſuch a melody to the Ear, as the whole world well underſtood, would afford the underſtanding. In brief, it is a ſenſible fit of that harmony, which intellectually ſounds in the Ears of God. I will not ſay with *Plato*, the Soul is an harmony, but harmonical, and hath its neareſt ſympathy unto Muſick: thus ſome whoſe temper of body agrees, and humours the conſtitution of their Souls, are born Poets, though indeed all are naturally inclined unto Rhythme. ‖ This made *Tacitus* in the very firſt Line of his Story, fall upon a Verſe; and *Cicero* the worſt of Poets, but * declaiming for a Poet, falls in the very firſt ſentence upon a perfect ‖ Hexameter. I feel not in me thoſe ſordid and unchriſtian deſires of my profeſſion; ‖ I do not ſecretly implore and wiſh for Plagues, rejoyce at Famines, revolve Ephemerides and Almanacks in expectation of malignant Aſpects, fatal Conjunctions and Eclipſes: I rejoyce not at unwholeſome Springs, nor unſeaſonable Winters: my Prayer goes with the Husbandman's; I deſire every thing in its proper ſeaſon, that neither men nor the times be put out of temper. Let me be ſick my ſelf, if ſometimes the malady of my Patient be not a Diſeaſe unto me; I deſire rather to cure his infirmities than my own neceſſities: where I do him no good, methinks it is ſcarce honeſt gain; though I confeſs 'tis but the worthy Salary of our well intended endeavours: I am not only aſhamed, but heartily ſorry, that beſides death, there are Diſeaſes incurable; yet not for my own ſake, or that they be beyond my Art, but for the general cauſe and ſake of humanity, whoſe common Cauſe I apprehend as mine own: And to ſpeak more generally, thoſe three Noble *Profeſſions* which all civil Common-wealths do honour, are raiſed upon the fall of *Adam*, and are not any way exempt from their infirmities; there are not only Diſeaſes incurable in *Phyſick*, but Caſes indiſſolvable in Laws, Vices incorrigible in Divinity: if general Councils may err, I do not ſee why particular Courts ſhould be infallible; their perfecteſt rules are raiſed upon the erroneous reaſons of Man; and the Laws of one, do but condemn the rules of another; as *Ariſtotle* oft-times the opinions of his Predeceſſors, becauſe, though agreeable to reaſon, yet were not conſonant to his own Rules and Logick of his proper *Principles*. Again, to ſpeak nothing of the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, whoſe cure not only, but whoſe nature

‖ *Urbem Romam in principio Reges habuere.*

* *Pro Archia Poeta.*

‖ *In qua me non inficior mediocriter eſſe.*

nature is unknown; I can cure the Gout or Stone in ſome, ſooner than Divinity Pride, or Avarice in others. I can cure vices by Phyſick when they remain incurable by Divinity; and ſhall obey my Pills when they contemn their Precepts. I boaſt nothing, but plainly ſay, we all labour againſt our own cure; for death is the cure of all diſeaſes. There is no *Catholicon* or univerſal remedy I know, but this, which though nauſeous to queaſie ſtomacks, yet to prepared appetites immortality.

Sect. 10. For my Converſation; it is like Suns, with all men, and witha friendly aſpect to good and bad. Methinks there is no man bad, and the worſt, beſt; that is, while they are kept within the circle of thoſe qualities, wherein there is good: There is no mans mind of ſuch diſcordant and jarring a temper, to which a tunable diſpoſition may not ſtrike a harmony. *Magnæ virtutes, nec minora vitia*; it is the poſie of the beſt natures, * and may be inverted on the worſt;] there are in the moſt depraved and venomous diſpoſitions, certain pieces that remain untoucht, which by an *Antiperiſtaſis* become more excellent, or by the excellency of their antipathies are able to preſerve themſelves from the contagion of their enemies vices, and perſiſt entire beyond the general corruption. For it is alſo thus in natures. The greateſt Balſomes do lye enveloped in the bodies of the moſt powerful Corroſives; I ſay moreover, and I ground upon experience, * that poyſons contain within themſelves their own Antitode,] and that which preſerves them from the venom of themſelves, without whichthey were not deletorious to others only, but tothemſelves alſo. But it is the corruption that I fear within me, not the contagion of commerce without me. 'Tis that unruly regiment within me, that will deſtroy me; 'tis I rhat do infect my ſelf; || the man without a Navel yet lives in me;] I feel that original Canker corrode and devour me; and therefore *Defenda me Dios deme*, Lord deliver me from my ſelf is a part of my Letany, and the firſt voice of my retired imaginations. There is no man alone, becauſe every man is a *Microcoſm*, and carries the whole World about him; *Nunquam minus ſolus quam cum ſolus*, though it be the Apothegme of a wiſe man, is yet true in the mouth of a Fool; for indeed, though in a Wilderneſs, a man is never alone, not only becauſe he is with himſelf, and his own thoughts, but becauſe he is with the Devil, who ever conſorts with our ſolitude, and is that unruly Rebel that muſters up thoſe diſordered motions which accompany our ſequeſtred imaginations: And to ſpeak more narrowly, there is no ſuch thing as ſolitude, nor any thing that can be ſaid to be alone, and by it ſelf, but God, who is in his own circle, and can ſubſiſt by himſelf; all others, beſides their diſſimilary and Heterogenous parts, which in a manner multiply their natures

tures. cannot ſubſiſt without the concourſe of God, and the ſociety of that hand which doth uphold their natures. In brief, there can be nothing truly alone, and by its ſelf, which is not truely one ; and ſuch is only God : All others do tranſcend an unity, and ſo by conſequence are many,

Sect. 11. Now for my life, it is a miracle of thirty years, which to relate, were not a *Hiſtory*, but a piece of *Poetry*, and would ſound to common ears like a *Fable* ; for the world, I count it not an Inn, but an Hoſpital ; and a place not to live, but to die in. The World that I regard is my ſelf ; it is the Microcoſm of my own frame that I caſt mine eye on ; for the other, I uſe it but like my Globe, and turn it round ſometimes for my recreation. *Men* that look upon my outſide, peruſing only my condition and Fortunes, do err in my Altitude ; for I am above *Atlas* his ſhoulders. The earth is a point not only in reſpect of the Heavens above us : but of that Heavenly and Celeſtial part within us : that maſs of fleſh that circumſcribes me, limits not my mind : that ſurface that tells the Heavens it hath an end cannot perſwade me I have any : I take my circle to be above three hundred and ſixty ; though the number of the Ark do meaſure my body, it comprehendeth not my mind : whilſt I ſtudy to find how I am a Microcoſm or little World, I find my ſelf ſomething more than the great. There is ſurely a piece of Divinity in us, ſomething that was before the Elements, and owes no homage unto the Sun. Nature tells me I am the Image of God, as well as Scripture : he that underſtands not thus much, hath not his introduction or firſt leſſon, and is yet to begin the Alphabet of man. Let me not injure the felicity of others, if I ſay I am as happy as any ; *Ruat Cœlum, Fiat voluntas tua*, ſalveth all ; ſo that whatſoever happens, it is but what our daily prayers deſire. In brief, I am content, and what ſhould providence add more ? Surely this is it we call happineſs, and this do I enjoy, with this I am happy in a dream, and as content to enjoy a happineſs in a fancy, as others in a more apparent truth, and reality. There is ſurely a nearer apprehenſion of any thing that delights us in our dreams, than in our waked ſenſes ; without this I were unhappy for my awaked judgment diſcontents me, ever whiſpering unto me, that I am from my friend ; but my friendly dreams in the night requite me, and make me think I am within his arms. I thank God for my happy dreams, as *I* do for my good reſt, for there is a ſatisfaction unto reaſonable deſires, and ſuch as can be content with a fit of happineſs ; and ſurely it is not a melancholy conceit to think we are all aſleep in this world, and that the conceits of this life are as meer dreams to thoſe of the next ; as the Phantaſms of the night, to the conceit of the day. There is an e-

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qual deluſion in both, and the one doth but ſeem to be the embleme or picture of the other; we are ſomewhat more than our ſelves in our ſleeps, and the ſlumber of the body ſeems to be but the waking of the Soul. It is the ligation of ſenſe, but the liberty of reaſon, and our waking conceptions do not match the Fancies of our ſleeps. At my Nativity my Aſcendant was the Earthly Sign of *Scorpius*; I was born in the Planetary hour of *Saturn*, and I think I have a piece of that Leaden Planet in me. I am no way facetious, nor diſpoſed for the mirth and galliardize of company; yet in one dream *I* can compoſe a whole Comedy, behold the action, and apprehend the Jeſts, and laugh my ſelf awake at the conceits thereof: were my memory as faithful as my reaſon is then fruitful, I would never ſtudy but in my dreams; and this time alſo would I chuſe for my devotions: but *our groſſer memories have then ſo little hold of our abſtracted underſtandings, that they forget the ſtory.] and can only relate to our awaked Souls, a confuſed and broken tale of that that hath paſſed. *Ariſtotle*, who hath written a ſingular Tract of Sleep, hath not methinks throughly defined it; nor yet *Galen*, though he ſeem to have corrected it; for thoſe *Noctambuloes* and Night-walkers, though in their ſleep, do yet enjoy the action of their ſenſes: we muſt therefore ſay that there is ſomething in us that is not in the juriſdiction of *Morpheus*; and that thoſe abſtracted and ecſtatick Souls do walk about in their own Corps, as Spirits with the Bodies they aſſume, wherein they ſeem to hear, and feel, though indeed the Organs are deſtitute of ſenſe, and their natures of thoſe faculties that ſhould inform them. Thus it is obſerved, that men ſometimes upon the hour of their departure, do ſpeak and reaſon above themſelves. For then the Soul begins to be freed from the Ligaments of the body, begins to reaſon like her ſelf, and to diſcourſe in a ſtrain above mortality.

We term ſleep a death, and yet it is waking that kills us, and deſtroys thoſe Spirits that are the houſe of life. 'Tis indeed a part of life *Sect.* 12. that beſt expreſſeth death; for every man truly lives, ſo long as he acts his nature, or ſomeway makes good the faculties of himſelf: *Themiſtocles* therefore that ſlew his Souldier in his ſleep, was a merciful Executioner; 'tis a kind of puniſhment the mildneſs of no Laws hath invented; *I wonder the fancy of *Lucan* and *Seneca* did not diſcover it.] It is that death by which we may be literally ſaid to die daily; a death which *Adam* died before his mortality; a death whereby we live a middle and moderating point between life and death; In fine, ſo like death, I dare not truſt it without my Prayers, and an half adieu unto the world, and take my farewel in a Colloquy with God.

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The Night is come, like to the day;
Depart not thou great God away.
Let not my ſins, black as the Night,
Eclipſe the Luſtre of thy Light.
Keep ſtill in my Horizon; for to me
The Sun makes not the day, but thee.
Thou whoſe nature cannot ſleep,
On my Temples Centry keep;
Guard me 'gainſt thoſe watchful Foes,
Whoſe Eyes are open while mine cloſe.
Let no Dreams my Head infeſt,
But ſuch as Jacobs Temples bleſt.
While I do reſt, my Soul advance;
Make my ſleep a Holy Trance:
That I may, my reſt being wrought,
Awake into ſome holy thought.
And with as active vigour run
My courſe as doth the nimble Sun.
Sleep is a death, O make me try,
By ſleeping, what it is to die:
And as gently lay my Head
On my Grave, as now my Bed.
Howere I reſt, great God, let me
Awake again at leaſt with thee.
And thus aſſur'd, behold I lie
Securely; or to wake or die.
Theſe are my drowſie days; in vain
I do now wake to ſleep again:
O come that hour, when I ſhall never
Sleep again, but wake for ever.

This is the Dormative I take to bedward; I need no other *Laudanum* than this to make me ſleep; after which I cloſe mine Eyes in ſecurity, content to take my leave of the Sun, and ſleep unto the Reſurrection.

Sect. 13. The method I ſhould uſe in diſtributive Juſtice, I often obſerve in communicative; and keep a Geometrical proportion in both, whereby becoming equable to others, I become unjuſt to my ſelf, and ſupererogate in that common Principle, *Do unto others as thou wouldſt be done unto thy ſelf*; I was not born unto riches, neither is it, I think, my Star to be wealthy; or if it were, the freedome of my mind, and frankneſs of my diſpoſition, were able to contradict and croſs

croſs my fates: for to me avarice ſeems not ſo much a vice, as a deplorable piece of madneſs; * to conceive our ſelves Urinals, or be perſwaded that we are dead, is not ſo ridiculous,] nor ſo many degrees beyond the power of *Helleborе*, as this. The opinions of Theory, and poſitions of men, are not ſo void of reaſon, as their practiſed Concluſions: ſome have held that Snow is black, that the Earth moves, that the Soul is Air, Fire, Water; but all this is Philoſophy, and there is no *delirium*, if we do but ſpeculate the folly and diſputable dotage of avarice to that ſubterraneous Idol, and God of the Earth. I do confeſs I am an Atheiſt, I cannot perſwade my ſelf to honour that the world adores; whatſoever vertue its prepared ſubſtance within may have within my body, it hath no influence nor operation without: I would not entertain a baſe deſign, or an Action that ſhould call me Villain, for the *Indies*; and for this only do I love and honour my own Soul, and have methinks two Arms too few to embrace my ſelf. *Ariſtotle* is too ſevere, that will not allow us to be truly liberal without wealth, and the bountiful hand of Fortune; if this be true, I muſt confeſs I am charitable only in my liberal intentions, and bountiful well-wiſhes. But if the example of the Mite be not only an act of wonder, but an example of the nobleſt Charity, ſurely poor men may alſo build *Hoſpitals*, and the rich alone have not erected Cathedrals. I have a private method which others obſerve not; I take the opportunity of my ſelf to do good; I borrow occaſion of Charity from my own neceſſities, and ſupply the wants of others, when I am in moſt need my ſelf; for it is an honeſt ſtratagem to make advantage of our ſelves, and ſo to husband the acts of vertue, that where they were defective in one circumſtance, they may repay their want, and multiply their goodneſs in another. I have not *Peru* in my deſires, but a competence and ability to perform thoſe good works, to which he hath inclined my nature: He is rich, who hath enough to be charitable; and it is hard to be ſo poor, that a noble mind may not find a way to this piece of goodneſs. *He that giveth to the poor, lendeth to the Lord*, there is more Rhetorick in that one ſentence, than in a Library of Sermons; and indeed if thoſe ſentences were underſtood by the Reader, with the ſame Emphaſis as they are delivered by the Author, we needed not thoſe Volumes of inſtructions, but might be honeſt by an Epitome. Upon this motive only I cannot behold a Beggar without relieving his neceſſities with my purſe, or his Soul with my prayers; theſe ſcenical accidental differences between us, cannot make me forget that common and untoucht part of us both; there is under theſe *Cantoes* and miſerable outſides, thoſe mutilate and Semi-bodies, a ſoul of the ſame alloy with our own, whoſe Genealo-

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gy is Gods as well as ours, and in as fair a way to Salvation as our ſelves. Statiſts that labour to contrive a Common wealth without our poverty, take away the object of our charity, not underſtanding only the Common-wealth of a Chriſtian, but forgetting the Propheſie of Chriſt.

Sect. 14. Now there is another part of charity, which is the Baſis and Pillar of this, and that is the love of God for whom we love our neighbour, for this I think Charity, to love God for himſelf, and our neighbour for God. All that is truely amiable is God, or as it were a divided piece of him, that retains a reflex or ſhadow of himſelf. Nor is it ſtrange that we ſhould place affection on that which is inviſible, all that we truly love is thus; what we adore under affection of our ſenſes, deſerves not the honour of ſo pure a Title. Thus we adore Vertue, though to the Eyes of ſenſe ſhe be inviſible: Thus that part of our noble Friends that we love, is not that part that we imbrace, but that ſenſible part that our Arms cannot embrace. God being all goodneſs, can love nothing but himſelf, and the traduction of his holy Spirit. Let us call to aſſize the loves of our Parents, the affection of our Wives and Children, and they are all dumb ſhews and dreams, without reality, truth or conſtancy: for firſt there is a ſtrong Bond of affection between us and our Parents; yet how eaſily diſſolved? We betake our ſelves to a Woman, forget our Mother in a Wife, and the Womb that bare us, in that that ſhall bear our Image: this Woman bleſſing us with Children, our affection leaves the level it held before, and ſinks from our Bed unto our Iſſue and Picture of Poſterity, where affection holds no ſteady manſion. They, growing up in years, deſire our ends; or applying themſelves to a Woman, take a lawful way to love another, better than our ſelves. Thus I perceive a man may be buried alive, and behold his Grave in his own iſſue.

Sect. 15. I conclude therefore and ſay, there is no happineſs under (or as *Copernicus* will have it, above) the Sun: nor any Cramb in that repeated verity and burthen of all the Wiſdom of *Solomon*; *All is vanity and vexation of Spirit*; there is no felicity in that the world adores. *Ariſtotle* whilſt he labours to refute the Idea's of *Plato*, falls upon one himſelf: for his *ſummum bonum* is a *Chimæra*, and there is no ſuch thing as Felicity. That wherein God himſelf is happy, the holy Angels are happy, in whoſe defect the Devils are unhappy; that dare I call happineſs: whatſoever conduceth unto this, may with an eaſie Metaphor, deſerve that name; whatſoever elſe the world terms Happineſs, is to me a ſtory out of *Pliny*; an Apparition or neat Delution, wherein there is more of Happineſs,

Happineſs, than the name. Bleſs me in this life with but Peace of my Conſcience, command of my affections, the love of thy ſelf and my deareſt friends and I ſhall be happy enough to pity *Ceſar*. Theſe are, O Lord, the humble deſires of my moſt reaſonable ambition, and all I dare call Happineſs on earth; wherein I ſet no rule or limit to thy Hand of Providence; diſpoſe of me according to the wiſdome of thy pleaſure. Thy will be done, though in my own undoing.

FINIS.

ANNOTATIONS

UPON

Religio Medici.

Nec ſatis eſt vulgaſſe fidem.
Pet. Arbit. fragment,

LONDON,

Printed for *Andrew Crook*, 1672.

THE ANNOTATOR TO THE READER.

A. Gellius (noct. A rtic. l. 20. cap. *ult.*) *notes ſome Books that had ſtrange Titles*; Pliny (Prefat. Nat. Hiſt.) *ſpeaking of ſome ſuch, could not paſs them over without a jeer*; *ſo ſtrange* (*ſaith he*) *are the Titles of ſome Books*, Ut multos ad vadimonium deferendum compellant. *And* Seneca *ſaith, ſome ſuch there are*, Qui patri obſtetricem parturienti filiæ accercenti moram injicere poſſint. *Of the ſame fate this preſent Tract* Religio Medici *hath partaken*: *Exception by ſome hath been taken to it in reſpect of its Inſcription, which ſay they, ſeemes to imply that* Phyſitians *have a Religion by themſelves, which is more than Theology doth warrant*: *but it is their Inference, and not the Title that is to blame*; *for no more is meant by that, or endeavour'd to be prov'd in the* Book *than that* (*contrary to the opinion of the unlearned.* Phiſitians *have* Religion *as well as other men.*

For the work it ſelf, the preſent Age hath produced none that hath had better Reception amongſt the learned; *it hath been received and foſtered by almoſt all, there having been but one that I knew of* (*to verifie* that Books have their Fate from the capacity of the Reader) *that hath had the face to appear a-*

against it; that is Mr. Alexander * Rosse; *but he is dead, and it is uncomely to skirmish with his shadow. It shall be sufficient to remember to the* Reader, *that the noble and most learned* Knight, *Sir* Kenelme Digby, *has delivered his opinion of it in another sort, who though in some things he differ from the* Authors *sense, yet hath he most candidly and ingeniously allow'd it to be a* very learned and excellent piece; *and I think no Schollar will say there can be an approbation more authentick. Since the time he Published his Observations upon it, one Mr.* Jo. Merryweather *a* Master *of* Arts *of the* University *of* Cambridge, *hath deem'd it worthy to be put into the universal Language, which about the year* 1644. *he performed; and that hath carried the Authors name not only into the* Low-Countries *and* France (*in both which places the Book in* Latin *hath since been printed*) *but into* Italy *and* Germany, *& in* Germany *it hath since fallen into the hands of a Gentleman of that Nation* * (*of his name he hath given us no more than* L.N. M.E.N.) *who hath written learned* Annotat. *upon it in Latine, which were printed together with the Book at* Strasbourg 1652. *And for the general good opinion the World had entertained both of the* Work and Author, *this Stranger tells you:* * Inter alios Auctores incidi in librum cui Titulus *Religio Medici*, jam ante mihi innotuerat lectionem istius libri multos præclaros viros delectasse, imo occupasse. Non ignorabam librum in *Anglia, Gallia, Italia, Belgio, Germania,* cupidissime legi; constabat mihi eum non solum in *Anglia, Batavia,* sed & *Parisiis* cum præfatione, in qua Auctor magnis laudibus fertur esse, Tipis mandatum Compertum mihi erat multos magnos atq; eruditos viros sensere Autorem (quantum ex hoc scripto perspici potest) sanctitate vitæ ac pietate elucere, *&c. But for the worth of the* Book *it is so well known to every* English-man *that is fit to read it, that this attestation of a* Forrainer *may seem superfluous.*

The German, *to do him right, hath in his* Annotations *given a fair specimen of his learning shewing his skill in the Languages, as well antient as modern; as also his acquaintance with all manner of Authors, both sacred and profane, out of which he hath amass'd a world of Quotations: but yet, not to menti-*

* In his Medicus Medicator.

* That he was a German appears by his notes pag [illegible] where he useth these words. *Dulcissima nostra Germania &c.*

* In Præfat. Annotat.

mention that he hath not observed some Errors of the Press, and one or two main ones of the Latine Translation, whereby the Author is much injured; it cannot be denied but he hath pass'd over many hard places untouch'd, that might deserve a Note; that he hath made Annotations *on some, where no need was; in the explication of others hath gone beside the true sense.*

[*And were he free from all these, yet one great Fault there is he may be justly charged with, that is, that he can not* manum de Tabula *even in matters the most obvious: which is an affectation ill-becoming a* Scholar; *witness the most learned Translator,* Claud. Minos. Divion. in præfat. commentar. Alciat. Emblemat. præfix Præstat (*sait bbe*) brevius omnia perse qui, & leviter attingere quæ nemini esse ignota suspicari possint, quam quasi ῥαψῳδεῖν, perq; locos communes idem expatiari.

I go not about by finding fault with his, obliquely to commend my own; I am as far from that, as 'tis possible others will be: All I seek, by this Preface, next to acquainting the Reader, with the various entertainment of the Book, is, that he would be advertiz'd that these Notes were collected *ten *years since, long before the* German's *were written; so that I am no plagiary (as who peruseth his Notes & mine, will easily perceive:) And in the second place, that I made this Recueil meerly for mine own entertainment, and not with any intention to evulge it; Truth is my witness, the publication proceeds merly from the importunity of the Book seller (my special friend) who being acquainted with what I had done, and about to set out another Edition of the Book, would not be denied these notes to attex to it; 'tis he (not I) that divulgeth it, and whatever the success be, he alone is concern'd in it; I only say for my self what my Annotations bear in the Frontispiece*

* Excepting two or three particulars in which reference is made to some Books that came over since that time.

Nec satis est vulgasse fidem ——

That is, that it was not enough to all persons (though pretenders to Learning) that our Physitian *had published his Creed, because he wanted an exposition. I say further, that the* German's *is not full; and that (——* Quicquid sum Ego quamvis Infra Lucilli censum ingeniumq; *——) my explications do in many things illustrate the Text of my Author.*

24. Martii, 1654.

AN-

ANNOTATIONS
UPON
RELIGIO MEDICI.

The Epiſtle to the *READER.*

CErtainly that man were greedy of Life, who ſhould deſire to live when all the world were at an end;] This Mr. *Merryweather* hath rendred thus; *Cupidum eſſe vitæ oportet, qui univerſo jam expirante mundo vivere cuperet*; and well enough: but it is not amiſs to remember, that we have this ſaying in *Seneca* the *Tragœdian*, who gives it us thus, *Vitæ eſt avidus quiſquis non vult mundo ſecum pereunte mori.*

There are many things delivered Rhetorically.] The Author herein imitates the ingenuity of St. *Auſtin*, who in his *Retract*, corrects himſelf for having delivered ſome things more like a young Rhetorician than a ſound Divine: but though St. *Aug.* doth deſervedly acknowledge it a fault in himſelf, in that he voluntarily publiſhed ſuch things, yet cannot it be ſo in this Author, in that he intended no publication of it, as he profeſſeth in this Epiſtle, and in that other to Sir *Kenelm Digby*.

THE

THE FIRST PART.

The general ſcandal of my Profeſſion.] Phyſitians (of the number wherof it appears by ſeveral paſſages in this Book the Author is one) do commonly hear ill in this behalf. It is a common ſpeech but only amongſt the unlearn'd ſort) *Ubi tres Medici, duo Athei.* The reaſons why thoſe of that Profeſſion (I declare my ſelf that I am none, but *Cauſarum Actor Mediocris*, to uſe *Horace* his Phraſe) may be thought to deſerve that cenſure, the Author rendreth *Sect.* 19. Sect. 1. Pag. 1.

The natural courſe of my ſtudies.] The vulgar lay not the imputation of Atheiſm only upon Phyſitians, but upon Philoſophers in general, who for that they give themſelves to underſtand the operations of *Nature*, they calumniate them, as though they reſted in the ſecond Cauſes, without any reſpect to the firſt. Hereupon it was, that in the tenth Age Pope *Silveſter* the ſecond paſs'd for a Magician, becauſe he underſtood Geometry and natural Philoſophy. *Baron. Annal.* 990. And *Apuleius* long before him laboured of the ſame ſuſpicion. upon no better ground; he was accus'd and made a learned Apology for himſelf, and in that hath laid down what the ground is of ſuch accuſations, in theſe words: *Hæc fermè communi quodam errore imperitorum Philoſophis objectantur; ut partem eorum qui corporum cauſas meras ſimplices rimantur, irrelegioſos putant, eoque aiunt Deos abnuere, ut Anaxagoram, & Lucippum, & Democritum, & Epicurum, cæteroſq; rerum naturæ Patrones.* Apul. in Apolog. And it is poſſible that thoſe that look upon the ſecond Cauſes ſcattered, may reſt in them and go no further, as my Lord *Bacon* in one of his *Eſſayes* obſerveth; but our Author tells us there is a true Philoſophy, from which no man becomes an Atheiſt. *Sect.* 46.

The indifference of my behaviour and Diſcourſe in matters of Religion.] Bigots are ſo overſway'd by a prepoſterous Zeal, that they hate all moderation in diſcourſe of Religion; they are the men forſooth—— *qui ſoles credant habendos eſſe Deos quos ipſi colunt.* *Eraſmus* upon this accompt makes a great complaint to Sir *Tho. More* in an Epiſtle of his touching one *Dorpius* a Divine of *Lovain*, who becauſe, upon occaſion of diſcourſe betwixt them, *Eraſmus* would not promiſe him to

write againſt *Luther*, told *Eraſmus* that he was a *Lutheran*, and afterwards publiſhed him for ſuch; and yet as *Eraſmus* was reputed no very good Catholique, ſo for certain he was no Proteſtant.

Not that I meerly owe this Title to the Font] as moſt do, taking up their Religion according to the way of their Anceſtors; this is to be blamed amongſt all Perſons; It was practiſed as well amongſt Heathens as Chriſtians.

Per caput hoc juro per quod Pater antè ſolebat, ſaith *Aſcanius* in *Virgil*: and *Apuleius* notes it for an abſurdity. *Utrum Philoſophi putas turpe ſcire iſta, an neſcire? negligere, an curare? noſſe quanta ſit etiam in iſtis providentiæ ratio, an de diis immortalibus Matri & Patri cedere?* ſaith he in *Apolog:* and ſo doth *Minutius*. *Unuſquiſq; veſtrum non cogitat prius ſe debere deum noſſe quam colere, dum inconſulte geſtiuntur patentibus obedire dum fieri malunt alieni errores acceſſio, quam ſibi credere.* Minut. *in* Octav.

But having in my ripers examined &c] according to the Apoſtolical Precept, *Omnia probate, quod bonum eſt tenete.*

Sect. 2. Pag. 1. *There being a Geography of Religions*] *i. e.* of Chriſtian Religion, which you may ſee deſcribed in Mr. *Brerewoods* Enquiries: he means not of the Proteſtant Religion; for though there be a difference in Diſcipline, yet the *Anglican*, *Scotic*, *Belgic*, *Gallican*, and *Helvetic* Churches differ not in any eſſential matter of the Doctrine, as by the *Harmony* of *Confeſſions* appears. 5. Epiſt. *Theod. Bezæ Edmundo Grindallo Ep. Londinenſ.*

Wherein I diſlike nothing but the Name] that is, *Lutheran*, *Calviniſt*, *Zuinglian*, &c.

Now the accidental occaſion wherein, &c.] This is graphically deſcribed by *Thuanus* in his Hiſtory: but becauſe his words are too large for this purpoſe, I ſhall give it you ſomewhat more briefly, according to the relation of the Author of the Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*. The occaſion was the neceſſity of Pope *Leo* the Tenth, who by his profuſion had exhauſted the Treaſure of the *Church*, that he was conſtrained to have recourſe to the publiſhing of Indulgences to raiſe monies: ſome of which he had deſtined to his own Treaſury, and other part to his Allyes, and particularly to his Siſter he gave all the money that ſhould be raiſed in *Saxony*; and ſhe, that ſhe might make the beſt profit of the Donation, commits it to one *Aremboldus*, a Biſhop to appoint Treaſurers for theſe Indulgences. Now the cuſtom was, that whenſoever theſe Indulgences were ſent into *Saxony*, they were to be divulged by the Fryars *Eremites*, (of which Order *Luther* then was) but *Aremboldus* his Agents thinking with themſelves, that the Fryars *Eremites* were ſo well acquainted with the trade, that if the buſineſs ſhould be left to them, they ſhould neither be able to give ſo good an account of their Negotiation, nor yet get ſo much themſelves by it as they might

might do in caſe the buſineſs were committed to another Order; they thereupon recommend it to (and the buſineſs is undertaken by) the *Dominican* Fryars, who performed it ſo ill, that the ſcandal ariſing both from thence, and from the ill lives of thoſe that ſet them on work, ſtirred up *Luther* to write againſt the abuſes of theſe Indulgences; which was all he did at firſt; but then, not long after, being provoked by ſome Sermons and ſmall Diſcourſes that had been publiſhed againſt what he had written, he rips up the *buſineſs* from the beginning, and publiſhes xcv. *Theſes* againſt it at *Wittenburg*. Againſt theſe *Tekel* a *Dominican* writes; then *Luther* adds an explication to his. *Eckius* and *Prierius*, Dominicans, thereupon take the controverſie againſt him: and now *Luther* begins to be hot; and becauſe his adverſaries could not found the matter of Indulgences upon other Foundations than the *Popes* power and infallability, that begets a diſputation betwixt them concerning the Popes power, which *Luther* inſiſts upon as inferiour to that of a *general Council*; and ſo by degrees he came on to oppoſe the Popiſh Doctrine of *Remiſſion of ſins*, *Penances*, and *Purgatory*; and by reaſon of Cardinal *Cajetans* imprudent mannagement of the conference he had with him, it came to paſs that he rejected the whole bod y of Popiſh doctrine. So that by this we may ſee what was the accidental occaſion wherein, the ſlender means whereby, and the abject condition of the perſon by whom, the work of Reformation of Religion was ſet on foot.

Yet I have not ſo ſhaken hands with thoſe deſperate Reſolutions, (Reſolvers it ſhould be, without doubt) who had rather venture at large their decayed Bottom, than bring her in to be new trimm'd in the Dock; who had rather promiſcouſly retain all, than abridge any; and obſtinately be what they are, than what they have been; as to ſtand in deſmiter and at Swords point with them: we have reformed from them, not againſt them, &c.] Theſe words by Mr. *Merryweather* are thus rendred, *ſc. Nec tamen in vecordem illum pertinacium hominum gregem memet adjungo, qui labefactatum navigium malunt fortunæ, committere quam in navale de integro reſarciendum deducere; qui malunt omnia promiſcue retinere quam quicquam inde diminuere, & pertinaciter eſſe qui ſunt quam qui olim fuerunt, ita ut iiſdem ex diametro repugnent: ab illis, non contra illos, reformationem inſtituimus*, &c. And the Latine Annotator ſits down very well ſatisfied with it, and hath beſtowed ſome notes upon it; but under the favour both of him and the Tranſlator, this Tranſlation is ſo far different from the ſenſe of the Author, that it hath no ſenſe in it; or if there be any conſtruction of ſenſe in it, it is quite beſides the Authors meaning; which will appear if we conſider the context, by that we ſhall find that the Author in giving an account of his Religion, tells us firſt that he is a Chriſtian, and farther, that he is of the reform'd Religion; but yet he ſaith, in this place, he is not ſo rigid a Proteſtant, nor at defiance with Papiſts ſo far, but that in many

Sect. 3. Pag. 2.

things he can comply with them,(the particulars he afterwards mentionsin this Section)for, ſaith he,we have reform'd from them,not againſt them, that is, as the *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury* againſt the *Jeſuit* diſcourſeth well, We have made no new Religion nor Schiſm from the old; but in calling for the old, and deſiring that which was novel and crept in might be rejected,and the Church of *Rome* refuſing it, we have reform'd from thoſe upſtart novel Doctrines, but againſt none of the old: and other ſenſe the place cannot bear; therefore how the *Latine Annotator* can apply it as though in this place the Author intended to note the *Anabaptiſts*, I ſee not, unleſs it were in reſpect of the expreſſion *Vecordem pertinacium hominum gregem*,which truly is a deſcription well befitting them, though not intended to them in this place: howſoever, I ſee not any ground from hence to conclude the Author to be any whit inclining to the *Bulk* of Popery (but have great reaſon from many paſſages in this Book to beleive the contrary,) as he that prefix'd a Preface to the Pariſian Edition of this Book hath unwarrantably done.

But for the miſtake of the Tranſlator,it is very obvious from whence that aroſe. I doubt not but it was from miſtake of the ſenſe of the Engliſh Phraſe *Shaken hands*, which he hath rendred by theſe words, *Memet adjungo*, wherein he hath too much play'd the Scholar, and ſhew'd himſelf to be more skilful in forraign and antient cuſtoms, than in the vernacular practiſe and uſage of the language of his own Country; for although amongſt the Latines protenſion of the Hand were a Symbole and ſign of Peace and Concord (as *Alex. ab Alexandro*; *Manum vero protendere, pacem peti ſignificabant* (ſaith he) *Gen. Dier. lib.* 4. *cap. ult.* which alſo is confirmed by *Cicero pro Dejotaro*; and *Cæſar. l.* 2. *de Bellico Gallico*) and was uſed in their firſt meetings, as appears by the Phraſe, *Jungere hoſpitio Dextras*; and by that of *Virgil*,

Oremus pacem, & Dextras tendamus inermes.

And many like paſſages that occur in the Poets, to which I believe the Tranſlator had reſpect: yet in modern practiſe, eſpecially with us in *England*, that ceremony is uſed as much in our *Adieu's* as in the *firſt Congreſſe*; and ſo the Author meant in this place, by ſaying he had not *ſhaken hands*; that is,that he had not ſo deſerted, or bid farewel to the *Romaniſts*, as to ſtand at Swords point with them: and then he gives his Reaſons at thoſe words, *For omitting thoſe improperations*, &c. So that inſtead of *memet adjungo*, the Tranſlator ſhould have uſed ſome Word or Phraſe of a clean contrary ſignification; and inſtead of *ex diametro repugnent*, it ſhould be *repugnem*.

Henry

Henry the Eighth, though he rejected the Pope, refuſed not the faith of *Rome.*] So much *Buchanan* in his own life written by himſelf teſtifieth, who ſpeaking of his coming into *England* about the latter end of that Kings time, ſaith, *Sed ibi tum omnia adeo erant incerta, ut eodem die, ac eodem igne* (very ſtrange!) *utriuſque factionis homines cremarentur Henrico* 8. *jam ſenioreſuæ magnis ſecuritati quam Religionis puritati intento.* And for the confirmation of this aſſertion of the Author, *vide Stat.* 31. *H.* 8. *cap.* 14. Sect. 5. Pag. 3.

And was conceived the State of Venice *would have attempted in our dayes.*] This expectation was in the time of Pope *Paul* the Fifth, who by excommunicating that Republique, gave occaſion to the Senate to baniſh all ſuch of the Clergy as would not by reaſon of the Popes command adminiſter the Sacraments; and upon that accounte the *Jeſuits* were caſt out, and never ſince receiv'd into that State.

Or be angry with his judgement for not agreeing with me in that, from which perhaps within a few days I ſhould diſſent my ſelf.] I cannot think but in this expreſſion the Author had reſpect to that of that excellent French Writer *Monſieur Mountaign* (in whom I often trace him.) *Combien diverſement jugeons nous de choſes? Combien de fois changeons nous nos fantaſies? Ce que je tieu aujourdhuy, ce que je croy, je le tien & le croy de toute ma Creance, mais ne m'eſt il pas advenu non une fois mais cent, mais mille & tous les jours d'avoir embraſſé quleque autre choſe?* Mountaign liv. 2. *Des Eſſais*, Chap. 12.

Every man is not a proper Champion for truth, &c.] A good cauſe is never betray'd more than when it is proſecuted with much eagerneſs, and but little ſufficiency; and therefore *Zuinglius*, though he were of *Caroloſtadius* his opinion in the point of the Sacrament of the *Euchariſt* againſt *Luther*, yet he blamed him for undertaking the defence of that Cauſe againſt *Luther*, not judging him able enough for the encounter: *Non ſatis habet humerorum*, ſaith he of *Caroloſtad*, alluding to that of *Horace*, *Sumite materiam veſtris qui ſcribitis æquam Viribus, & verſate diu quid ferre recuſent Quid valeant humeri.*—— So *Minutius Fælix*; *Plerumq; pro differentium viribus, & eloquentiæ poteſtate, etiam perſpicuæ veritatis conditio mutetur.* Minut. in Octav. And *Lactantius* ſaith, this truth is verified in *Minutius* himſelf: for *Him*, *Tertullian* and *Cyprian*, he ſpares not to blame (all of them) as if they had not with dexterity enough defended the Chriſtian cauſe againſt the *Ethnicks*. *Lactant. de juſtitia*, cap. 1. I could wiſh that thoſe that ſucceeded him had not as much cauſe of complaint againſt him: ſurely he is noted to have many errors *contra fidem.*

In Philoſophy —— there is no man more Paradoxical then my ſelf, but in Divinity I love to keep the Road, *&c.*] Appoſitely to the mind of the Author, ſaith the Publiſher of Mr. *Pembel's* Book *de origine formarum*, *Certe* (ſaith he) *in locis Theologicis ne quid detrimenti capiat*

vel

vel Pax, vel Veritas Chriſti——a novarum opinionum pruritu prorſus abſtinendum puto, uſq; adeo ut ad certam regulam etiam loqui debeamus, quod pie & prudenter monet Auguſtinus (de Civ. Dei, l. 10 cap. 23.) [*ne verborum licentia impia vi gignat opinionem,*] *at in pulvere Scholaſtico in nullius verba juramus, & in utramvis partem ſine diſpendio vel pacis, vel ſalutis ire licet, major conceditur cum ſentiendi tum loquendi libertas,* &c. Capet. *in Ep. Dedicat. Pembel. de origine form. præfix.*

Hereſies periſh not with their Authors, but like the River *Arethuſa*, though they loſe their currents in one place, they riſe again in another.] Who would not think that this expreſſion were taken from Mr. *Mountaigne, pl. 2. des Eſſ. cav. 12.* Where he hath theſe words, *Nature enſerre dans les termes de ſon progreſs ordinaire comme toutes autres choſes auſſi les creances les jugements & opinions des hommes elles ont leur revolutions*; and that *Mountaigne* took his from *Tully*. *Non enim hominum interitu ſententiæ quoque occidunt. Tull. de nat. deorum l.* 1. &c. Of the River *Arethuſa* thus *Seneca. Videbis celebratiſſimum carminibus fontem Arethuſam limpidiſſimi ac perludiciſſimi ad imum ſtagni gelidiſſimas aquas profundentem, ſive illas primum naſcentes invenit, ſive flumen integrum ſubter tot maria, & a confuſione pejoris undæ ſervatum reddidit.* Senec. *de conſolat. ad Martiam.*

Sect. 7. *Pag.* 5. *Now the firſt of mine was that of the* Arabians.] For this Hereſie, the Author here ſheweth what it was; they are called *Arabians* from the place where it was foſtered; and becauſe the *Hereſiarch* was not known, *Euſeb.* St. *Aug.* and *Nicephorus* do all write of it: the reaſon of this Hereſie was ſo ſpecious, that it drew Pope *John* 22. to be of the ſame perſwaſion. Where there then was his infallibility? Why, *Bellarmine* tells you he was nevertheleſs infallible for that: for, ſaith he, he maintained this opinion when he might do it without peril of Hereſie, for that no definition of the Church whereby 'twas made Hereſie, had preceded when he held that opinion. *Bellar. l. 4. de Pontif. Roman. caſ.* 4. Now this definition was firſt made ('tis true) by Pope *Benedict* in the 14 Age: but then I would ask another queſtion, that is, if till that time there were nothing defined in the Church touching the beatitude of Saints? what certainty was there touching the ſanctity of any man? and upon what ground were thoſe canonizations of Saints had, that were before the 14. Age?

The ſecond was that of Origen] Beſides St. *Auguſtine, Epiphanius*, and alſo St. *Hierom*, doth relate that *Origen* held, that not only the Souls of men, but the *Devils* themſelves ſhould be diſcharged from torture after a certain time: but *Genebrand* endeavours to clear him of this *Vid. Coquæum, in* 21. *lib. Aug. de Civ. Dei. c.* 17.

Theſe opinions though condemned by lawful Councils, were not Hereſie in me, &c.] For to make an Heretique, there muſt be not only *Error in intellectu*, but *pertinacia in voluntate.* So St. *Aug. Qui ſententiam*

ſuam

suam quamvis falsam atque perversam nulla pertinaci animositate defendunt, quærunt autem cauta solicitudine veritatem, corrigi parati cum invenerint, nequaquam sunt inter Hæreticos deputandi. Aug. *cont. Manich.* 24 *qu.* 3

The deepest mysteries that ours contains have not only been illustrated, but maintained by Syllogism and the Rule of Reason.] and since this Book was written, by Mr. *White* in his *Institutiones Sacræ.* Sect 9. Pag. 6.

And when they have seen the red Sea, doubt not of the miracle.] Those that have seen it, have been better informed then Sir *Henry Blount* was, for he tells us that he desired to view the passage of *Moses* into the Red Sea (not being above three days journey off) but the *Jews* told him the precise place was not known within less than the space of a days journey along the shoar; wherefore (saith he) I left that as too uncertain for any observation. *In his voyage into the Levant.*

I had as lieve you tell me that *anima est angelus hominis, est corpus Dei*, as *Entelechia*; *Lux est umbra Dei*, as *actus perspecui.* [Great variety of opinion there hath been amongst the antient Philosophers touching the definition of the Soul. *Thales*, his was, that it is a *Nature without Repose.* *Asclepiades*, that it is *an Exercitation of sence*: *Hesiod*, that it is *a thing composed of Earth and Water*; *Parmenides* holds, *of Earth and Fire*; *Galen*, that it is *Heat*; *Hippocrates*, that it is *a spirit diffused through the body*: some others have held it to be *Light*; *Plato* saith, 'tis *a Substance moving it self*; after cometh *Aristotle* (whom the Author here reproveth) and goeth a degree farther, and saith it is *Entelechia*, that is, that which naturally makes the body to move. But, this definition is as rigid as any of the other; for this tells us not what the *essence*, *origine* or *nature* of the *Soul* is, but only marks an *effect* of it, and therefore signifieth no more than if he had said (as the Author's Phrase is) that it is *Angelus hominis*, or an *Intelligence* that moveth man, as he supposed those other to do the Heavens. Sect. 10. Pag. 7.

Now to come to the definition of Light, in which the Author is also unsatisfied with the School of *Aristotle*, he saith, it sarisfieth him no more to tell him that *Lux est actus perspicui*, than if you should tell him that it is *umbra Dei.* The ground of this definition given by the Perepateticks, is taken from a passage in *Aristot. de animal* 2. *cap.* 7. where *Aristotle* saith, that the colour of the thing seen, doth move that which is *perspicuum actu* (i.e: *illustratam naturam quæ sit in aere aliove corpore transparente*) and that that, in regard of its continuation to the Eye, moveth the Eye, and by its help the internal *sensorium*; and that so vision is perform'd. Now as it is true that the Sectators of *Aristotle* are too blame, by fastening upon him by occasion of this passage, that he meant that those things that made this impress upon the Organs are meer accidents, and have nothing of substance; which is more than ever he meant,

meant, and cannot be maintained without violence to Reaſon, and his own Principles; ſo for *Ariſtotle* himſelf, no man is beholding to him for any Science acquired by this definition: for what is any man the near for his telling him that Colour (admiting it to be a body, as indeed it is, and in that place he doth not deny) doth move *actu perſpicuum*, when as the perſpecuity is in relation to the Eye; and he doth not ſay how it comes to be perſpicuous, which is the thing enquired after, but gives it that donation before the Eye hath perform'd its office; ſo that if he had ſaid it had been *umbra Dei*, it would have been as intelligible, as what he hath ſaid. He that would be ſatisfied how Viſion is perform'd, let him ſee Mr. *Hobbs* in *Tract. de nat. human.* cap. 2.

For God hath not cauſed it to rain upon the Earth.] St. *Aug. de Geneſ. ad literam*, cap. 5, 6. ſalves that expreſſion from any inconvenience; but the Author in *Pſeudodox. Epidemic.* l. 7. cap. 1. ſhews that we have no reaſon to be confident that this Fruit was an *Apple*.

I believe that the Serpent (*if we ſhall literally underſtand it*) *from his proper form and figure made his motion on his Belly before the Curſe.*] Yet the Author himſelf ſheweth in *Pſeudodox. Epidemic.* lib. 7. cap. 1. that the form or kind of the *Serpent* is not agreed on: yet *Comeſtor* affirm'd it was a *Dragon*, *Eugubinus* a *Baſiliſk*, *Delrio* a *Viper*, and others a common *Snake*: but of what kind ſoever it was, he ſheweth in the ſame Volume, *lib.* 5. *c.* 4. that there was no inconvenience, that the temptation ſhould be perform'd in this proper ſhape.

I find the tryal of Pucelage and Virginity of Women which God ordained the *Jews*, is very fallible;] *Locus extat, Deut. c.* 22. the ſame is affirm'd by *Laurentius* in his *Anatom.*

Whole Nations have eſcaped the curſe of Child-birth, which God ſeems to pronounce upon the whole Sex.] This is atteſted by M. *Montainge Les doleurs de l'enfantiment par les medicines, & pardeiu meſmement eſtimes grandes, & quæ nous paſons avec tant de Ceremonies, ily a des nations entieres qui ne'n fuit nul conte. l.* 1. *des Eſſ.* c. 14.

Sect. 11. Pag. 8. *Who can ſpeak of* Eternity *without a Soloeciſm, or think thereof without an Extaſie? Time we may comprehend* &c.] Touching the difference betwixt *Eternity* and *Time*, there have been great diſputes amongſt Philoſophers; ſome affirming it to be no more than *duration perpetual conſiſting of parts*; and others (to which opinion, it appears by what follows in this Section, the Author adheres) affirmed (to uſe the Authors Phraſe) that it hath no diſtinction of Tenſes, but is according to *Boetius* (*lib.* 5. *conſol. proſ.* 6.) his definition, *interminabilis vitæ tota ſimul & perfecta poſſeſſio*. For me, *non noſtrum eſt tantas componere lites*; I ſhall only obſerve what each of them hath to ſay againſt the other. Say thoſe of the firſt opinion againſt thoſe that follow *Boetius* his definition, That definition was taken by *Boetius* out

out of *Plato's Timæus*, and is otherwiſe applyed, though not by *Boetius*, yet by thoſe that follow him, than ever *Plato* intended it; for he did not take it in the Abſtract, but in the Concrete, for an *eternal thing*, *a Divine ſubſtance*, by which he meant *God*, or his *Anima m undi*: and this he did, to the intent to eſtabliſh this truth, That no mutation can befal the Divine Majeſty, as it doth to things ſubject to generation and corruption; and that *Plato* there intended not to define or deſcribe any ſpecies of duration: and they ſay that it is impoſſible to underſtand any ſuch ſpecies of duration that is (according to the Authors expreſſion) but one *permanent point*.

Now that which thoſe that follow *Boetius* urge againſt the other definition is, they ſay, it doth not at all difference *Eternity* from the nature of *Time*; for they ſay if it be compoſed of many *Nunc's*, or many inſtants, by the addition of one more it is ſtill encreaſed; and and by that means *Infinity* or *Eternity* is not included, nor ought more than *Time*. For this, ſee Mr. *White*, *de dial. mundo*, *Dial.* 3. *Nod.* 4.

Indeed he only is, &c.] This the Author infers from the words of God to *Moſes*, *I am that I am*; and this to diſtinguiſh him from all others, who (he ſaith) have and ſhall be: but thoſe that are learned in the *Hebrew*, do affirm that the words in that place (*Exod.* 3.) do not ſignifie, *Ego ſum qui ſum*, *& qui eſt*, &c. but *Ero qui ero*, *& qui erit*, &c. *vid. Gaſſend. in animad. Epicur. Phyſiolog.* *Sect.* 12. Pag. 61.

I wonder how Ariſtotle *could conceive the World Eternal, or how he could make two Eternities*:] (that is, that God, and the World both were eternal.) I wonder more at either the ignorance or incogitancy of the *Conimbricenſes*, who in their Comment upon the eighth book of *Ariſtotles Phyſicks*, treating of the matter of Creation, when they had firſt ſaid that it was poſſible to know it, and that actually it was known (for *Ariſtotle* knew it) yet for all this, they afterwards affirm, that conſidering only the light of Nature, there is nothing can be brought to demonſtrate Creation; and yet farther, when they had defined Creation to be the production of a thing *ex nihilo* and had proved that the World was ſo created in time, and refuſed the Arguments of the Philoſophers to the contrary; they added this, that the World might be created *ab æterno*: for having propos'd this queſtion [*Num aliquid a Deo ex Æternitate procreari potuit?*] they defend the affirmative, and aſſert that not only incorporeal ſubſtances, as Angels; or permanent, as the celeſtial Bodies; or corruptible as Men, *&c.* might be reduced and made *ab æterno*, and be conſerved by an infinite time, *ex utraq; parte*; and that this is neither repugnant to God the Creator, the things created, nor to the nature of Creation: for proof whereof, they bring inſtances of the *Sun*, which if it had been eternal, had illuminated eternally, (& the vertue of God is not leſs than the vertue of

the Sun.) Another inſtance they bring of the *divine Word*, which was produc'd *ab æterno*: in which diſcourſe, and in the inſtances brought to maintain it, it is hard to ſay whether the madneſs or impiety be greater; and certainly if Chriſtians thus argue, we have the more reaſon to pardon the poor heathen *Ariſtotle*.

There is not three, but a Trinity of Souls.] The *Peripatetiques* held that men had three diſtinct Souls; whom the Heretiques, the *Anomæi*, and the *Jacobites*, followed. There aroſe a great diſpute about this matter in *Oxford*, in the year 1276. and it was then determined againſt *Ariſtotle*. *Danens Chriſt. Eth.* l. 1. c. 4. and *Suarez* in his Treatiſe *de cauſa formali*, *Queſt. An dentur plures formæ in uno compoſito*, affirmeth there was a Synod that did *anathematize* all that held with *Ariſtotle* in this point.

Sect. 14. Pag. 11. *There is but one firſt, and four ſecond cauſes in all things.*] In that he ſaith there is but one firſt cauſe, he ſpeaketh in oppoſition to the *Manichees*, who held there were *Duo principia*; one from whom came all good and the other from whom came all evil: the reaſon of *Protagoras* did it ſeems impoſe upon their underſtandings; he was wont to ſay, *Si Deus non eſt, unde igitur bona? Si autem eſt, unde mala?* In that he ſaith there are but four ſecond Cauſes, he oppoſeth *Plato*, who to the four cauſes, *material*, *efficient*, *formal*, and *final*, adds for a fifth *exemplar* or *idea*, ſc. *Id ad quod reſpiciens artifex, id quod deſtinabat, efficit*; according to whoſe mind *Boetius* ſpeaks, *lib.* 3. *met.* 9. *de conſ. Philoſoph*

O qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas,
Terrarum Cœliq; ſator, qui tempus ad ævo
Ire jubes, ſtabilisq; manens das cuncta moveri:
Quem non externæ pepulerunt fingere cauſæ
Materiæ fluitantis opus, verum inſita ſummi
Forma boni livore carens: tu cuncta ſuperno
Ducis ab exemplo, pulchrum pulcherrimus ipſe
Mundum mente gerens ſimilique in imagine formans,
Perfectaſq; jubens perfectum abſolvere partes.

And St. *Auguſtine* l. 83. *queſt.* 46. where (amongſt other) he hath theſe words, *Reſtat ergo ut omnia Ratione ſint condita, nec eadem ratione homo qua equus; hoc enim abſurdum eſt exiſtimare: ſingula autem propriis ſunt creata rationibus.* But theſe *ideæ Plato*'s Scholar *Ariſtotle* would not allow to make or conſtitute a different ſort of cauſe from the *formal* or *efficient*; to which purpoſe he diſputes, *l.* 7. *Metaphyſic.* but he and his *Sectators*, and the *Romiſts* alſo, agree (as the Author) that there are but the four remembred Cauſes: ſo that the Author, in affirming there are but four, hath no Adverſary but the *Platoniſts*; but yet in aſſerting there are four (as his words imply) there are that

oppoſe

oppoſe him, and the *Schools* of *Ariſtot.* and *Ramus.* I ſhall bring for inſtance Mr. *Nat. Carpenter*, who in his *Philoſophia Libera* affirmeth there is no ſuch cauſe as that which they call the *Final cauſe*: he argueth thus; Every cauſe hath an influence upon its effect: but ſo has not the End, therefore it is not a cauſe. The major propoſition (he ſaith) is evident, becauſe the influence of a cauſe upon its effect, is either the cauſality it ſelf, or ſomething that is neceſſarily conjoyned to it: and the *minor* as plain, for either the End hath an influence up on the effect immediately, or mediately, by ſtirring up the efficient to operate; not immediately, becauſe ſo it ſhould enter either the *conſtitution* or *production*, or *conſervation* of the things; but the conſtitution it cannot enter, becauſe the conſtitution is only of *matter* and *form*; nor the Production, for ſo it ſhould concur to the production, either as it is *ſimply the end*, or as *an exciter of the efficient*; but not ſimply as the end, becauſe the end *as end* doth not go before, but followeth the thing produced, and therefore doth not concur to its production: if they ſay it doth ſo far concur, as it is deſired of the agent or efficient cauſe, it ſhould not ſo have an immediate influence upon the effect, but ſhould only firſt move the efficient. Laſtly, ſaith he, it doth not enter the conſervation of a thing, becauſe a thing is often conſerved, when it is fruſtrate of its due end, as when it's converted to a new uſe and end. Divers other Arguments he hath to prove there is no ſuch Cauſe as the final Cauſe. *Nat. Carpenter Philoſoph. liber. D ecad* 3. *Exercitat.* 5. But for all this, the Author and he differ not in ſubſtance: for 'tis not the Authors intention to aſſert that the end is in nature præexiſtent to the effect, but only that whatſoever God has made, he hath made to ſome end or other; which he doth to oppoſe the Sectators of *Epicurus*, who maintain the contrary, as is to be ſeen by this of *Lucretius* which follows.

Illud in his rebus vitium vehementer & iſtum
Effugere errorum, vitareque præmeditator,
Lumina ne facias oculorum clara creata
Proſpicere ut poſſimus; & ut proferre viri
Proceros paſſus, ideo faſtigia poſſe
Surarum ac feminum pedibus fundata plicari:
Brachia tum porro validis ex apta lacertis
Eſſe, manuſq; datas utraq, ex parte miniſtras,
Ut facere ad vitam poſſimus, quæ foret uſus:
Cætera de genere hoc, inter quæcunq; precantur
Omnia perverſa præpoſtera ſunt ratione:
Nil ideo quoniam natum'ſt, in corpore ut uti
Poſſemus; ſed quod natum'ſt, id procreat uſum,
Nec fuit ante videre oculorum lumina nata,

Nec dictis orare prius, quam lingua creata'ſt,
Sed potius longe linguæ præceſſit origo
Sermonem ; multoq; creatæ ſunt prius aures
Quam ſonus eſt auditus, & omnia denique membra
Ante fuere, ut opinor, eorum, quam fores uſus :
Haud igitur potuere utendi creſcere cauſa.

Lucret. lib. 4.

There are no Groteſques in nature, &c.] So *Monſr. Montaign. Il*
Sect. 15. *ny'arien d' mutil en nature, non pas l' inutilite meſmes, Rien ne s'eſt*
Pag. 64. *jugere en cet Univers que n'y tienne place opportun.* Eſſ. l. 3. c. 1.
Who admires not Regio-montanus *his Fly beyond his Eagle ?*] Of
theſe *Du Bartas.*

Que diray je de l' aigle.

D'ont un docte Aleman honore noſtre ſiecle
Aigle qui deſlogeant de la maiſtreſſe main,
Aila loin au devant d'un Empereur Germain ;
Et l'ayant recontre, ſuddain d'une aiſle accorte,
Se tournant le ſuit an ſue il de la porte
Du fort Norembergois, que lis piliers dorez,
Les tapiſſez chemins, les ares elabourez,
Les foudroyans Canons, in la jeuſneſſe iſnelle,
In le chena Senat, u' bonnoroit tant come elle.
Un jour, que cetominer plus des esbats, que de metz,
En prive, faſteyoit ſes ſeignieurs p'us ameez,
Une mouſche de fer, dans ſa main recelee,
Pritſans ayde d' autroy, ſa gallard evolee :
Fit une entiere Ronde, & puis d'un cerveau las
Come ayant jugement, ſe pureha ſur ſon bras.

Thus Engliſhed by *Silveſter.*

Why ſhould not I that wooden Eagle mention ?
(A learned German's *late admir'd invention)*
Which mounting from his Fiſt that framed her,
Flew far to meet an Almain *Emperour :*
And having met him, with her nimble train,
And weary Wings turning about again,
Followed him cloſe unto the Caſtle Gate
Of Noremberg ; *whom all the ſhowes of ſtate,*
Streets hang'd with Arras, Arches curious built,
Loud thundring Canons, Columns richly guilt,

Gray-

Gray-headed Senat, and youth's gallantiſe,
Grac'd not ſo much as only this device.
Once at this Artiſt more with mirth than meat,
Feaſted ſome friends that he eſteemed great;
From under's hand an Iron Fly flew out,
Which having flown a perfect round about,
With weary wings, return'd unto her Maſter,
And (as judicious) on his arm ſhe plac'd her.

Or wonder not more at the operation of two ſouls in thoſe little bodies, than but one in the Trunk of a Cedar?] That is, the *vegetative*, which according to the common opinion, is ſuppoſed to be in *Trees*, though the *Epicures* and *Stoicks* would not allow any Soul in Plants; but *Empedocles* and *Plato* allowed them not only a *vegetative* Soul, but affirm'd them to be *Animals*. The *Manichees* went farther, and attributed ſo much of the rational Soul to them, that they accounted it *Homicide* to gather either the Flowers or Fruit, as St. *Aug.* reports.

We carry with us the wonders we ſeek without us.] So St. *Aug.* l. 10. de civ. c. 3. *Omni miraculo quod fit per hominem majus miraculum eſt homo.*

Another of his ſervant Nature, that publick and univerſal Manuſcript that lies expanſed, &c. [So is the deſcription of *Du Bartas* 7. *jour de la ſeput.* Sect. 14. Pag. 64.

Oyes de Docteur muet eſt udie en ce livre
Qui nuict & jour ouvert s'apprendra de bien vivre.

All things are artificial, for Nature is the Art *of God.*] So Mr *Hobbes* in his *Leviathan (in initio)* Nature is the Art whereby God governs the world.

Directing the operations of ſingle and individual Eſſences, &c.] things ſingular or individuals, are in the opinion of Philoſophers not to be known, but by the way of ſenſe, or by that which knows by its Eſſence, and that is only God. The Devils have no ſuch knowledge, becauſe whatſoever knows ſo, is either the cauſe or effect of the thing known; whereupon *Averroes* concluded that God was the cauſe of all things, becauſe he underſtands all things by his eſſence; and *Albertus Magnus* concluded that the inferiour intelligence underſtands the ſuperiour, becauſe it is an effect of the ſuperiour: but neither of theſe can be ſaid of the *Devil*; for it appears he is not the effect of any of theſe inferiour things, much leſs is he the cauſe; for the power of creation only belongs to God. Sect. 17. Pag. 13.

All

All cannot be happy at once, becauſe the glory of one State dependes upon the ruine of another.] This Theme is ingeniouſly handled by Mr *Montaign livr.* 1. *des Eſſ.* cap. 22. The Title whereof is, *L'profit de l'un eſt dommage de l'autre.*

Sect. 18. Pag. 14. *'Tis the common fate of men of ſingular gifts of mind, to be deſtitute of thoſe of Fortune.*] So *Petron. Arbiter. Amor ingenii neminem unquam divitem fecit*, in *Satyric.* And *Apuleius* in Apog. *Idem mihi etiam* (ſaith he) *paupertatem opprobravit acceptum Philoſopho crimen & ultro profitendum*; and then a little afterwards, he ſheweth that it was the common fate of thoſe that had ſingular gifts of mind: *Eadem enim eſt paupertas apud Græcos in Ariſtide juſto, in Phocione benigna, in Epaminonda ſtrenua, in Socrate ſapiens, in Homero diſerta.*

We need not labour with ſo many arguments to confute judicial Aſtrology.] There is nothing in judicial *Aſtrology* that may render it impious; but the exception againſt it is, that it is vain and fallible; of which any man will be convinced, that has read *Tully de divinat.* and St. *Aug.* book 5. *de Civ dei.*

Sect. 19. Pag. 15. *There is in our ſoul a kind of Triumvirate ——— that diſtracts the peace of our Commonwealth, not leſs than did that other the State of* Rome.] There were two *Triumvirates*, by which thepeace of *Rome* was diſtracted; that of *Craſſus*, *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, of which *Lucan*, *l.* 1.

——Tu cauſam aliorum——
Facta tribus Dominis communis Roma, nec unquam
In turbam miſſi feralia fœdera Regni.

And that other of *Auguſtus*, *Antonius* and *Lepidus*, by whom, ſaith *Florus*, *Reſpub. convulſa eſt laceratag*; which comes ſomewhat near the Authors words, and therefore I take it that he means this laſt Triumvirate.

Would diſſwade my beleif from the miracle of the brazen Serpent] Vid. *Coqueum in l.* 10. Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, *c.* 8.

And bid me miſtruſt a miracle in Elias, *&c.*] The Hiſtory is 18. 1 *Reg.* It ſhould be *Elijah.* The Author in 15. *cap. lib.* 7. *Pſeudodox* ſheweth it was not perform'd naturally; he was (ashe ſaith) a perfect miracle.

To think the combuſtion of Sodome *might be natural.*] Of that opinion was *Strabo*, whereupon he is reprehended by *Genebrard* in theſe words: *Strabo falſus eſt——dum everſionem addicit ſulphuri & bitumini e terra erumpentibus, quæ erat aſſignando Cœlo*, i. e. *Deo irato. Tacitus* reports it according to the Bible, *fulminis ictu arſiſſe.*

Sect. 20. Pag. 16. *Thoſe that held Religion was the difference of man from Beaſts*,&c.] *Lactantius* was one of thoſe: *Religioni ergo ſerviendum eſt, quam qui nonſuſpicit, ipſe ſe proſternit in terram, & vitam pecudum ſecutus humanitate ſe abdicat.* Lactant *de falſ. Sapientia*, cap. 10. The

The Doctrine of Epicurus *that denied the providence of God, was no Atheism, but* &c.] I doubt not but he means that delivered in his Epiſtle to *Menæceus*, and recorded by *Diogenes Laertius*, lib. 10. *Quod beatum eternumq; eſt, id nec habet ipſum negotii quicquam, nec exhibet alteri, itaque neque ira, neque gratia tenetur, quod quæ talia ſunt imbecillis ſunt omnia*; which the *Epicurean* Poet hath delivered almoſt in the ſame words.

Omnis enim per ſe divum natura neceſſe'ſt
Immortali ævo ſumma cum pace fruatur,
Semota à noſtris rebus ſejunctaq; longè:
Nam privata dolore omni, privata periclis
Ipſa ſuis pollens opibus nihil indiga noſtri
Nec bene pro meritis capitur, nec tangitur ira. Lucret. *lib.* 2.

* *That villaine and ſecretary of Hell, that compoſed that miſcreant piece of the three Impoſtors.*] It was *Ochinus* that compoſed this piece; but there was no leſs a man than the Emperour *Frederick* the Second, that was as laviſh of his tongue as the other of his pen; *Cui ſæpe in ore, Tres fuiſſe inſignes Impoſtores, qui genus humanum ſeduxerunt: Moyſem, Chriſtum, Mahumetem. Lipſ. monit. & exempl. Politic.* cap. 4. And a greater than he, Pope *Leo* the Tenth, was as little favourable to our Saviour, when he us'd that ſpeech which is reported of him, *Quantas nobis divitias comparavit iſta de Chriſto fabula.*

There are in Scripture *Stories that do exceed the fables of Poets.*] So the Author of *Relig. Laici. Certe mira admodum in S. S. plus quam in reliquis omnibus Hiſtoriis traduntur*; (and then he concludes with the Author) *Sed quæ non retundunt intellectum, ſed exercent.*

Yet raiſe no queſtion who ſhall riſe with that Rib *at the Reſurrection.*] The Author, *cap.* 2 *l.* 7. *Pſeudodox* ſheweth that it appeares in Anatomy, that the Ribs of Man and Woman are equal.

Whether the world were created in Autumn, Summer, or the Spring, &c.] In this matter there is a conſent between two learned Poets, *Lucretius* and *Virgil*, that it begins in *Spring*.

At novitas mundi nec frigora dura ciebat,
Nec nimios æſtus, nec magnis viribus auras. Lucret.

Which he would have to be underſtood of *Autumn*, becauſe that reſembles old age rather than infancy. He ſpeaks expreſly of the fowles.

Principio

Principio genus alitum variaq; volucres
Ova relinquebant exclusæ tempore verno. Lucret.

Then for *Virgil.*

Non alios prima nascentis origine mundi
Illuxisse dies aliumve habuisse tenorem
Crediderim, ver illud erat, ver magnus agebat
Orbis, & hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri.
Virgil 2. Georgic.

But there is a great difference about it betwixt Church-Doctors; some agreeing with these Poets, and others affirming the time to be in Autumn: but truly, in strict speaking, it was not created in any one, but all of the seasons, as the Author saith here, and hath shewed at large, *Pseudodox Epidemic.* l. 6. c. 2.

Sect. 22. Pag. 17. *'Tis ridiculous to put off or drown the general Flood of* Noah *in that particular inundation of* Deucalion] as the Heathens some of them sometimes did: *Confuderunt igitur sæpe Ethnici particularia illa diluvia, quæ longe post secuta sunt, cum illo universali quod præcessit, ut ex fabulis in Diluvio Deucalionæo sparsis colligere licet; non tamen semper nec ubique. Author. Observat. in Mytholog. Nat. Com.* Then amongst those that confound them, he reckons *Ovid* and *Plutarch.*

How all the kinds of Creatures, not only in their own bulks, but with a competency of food and sustenance, might be preserved in one Ark, and within the extent of 300. *Cubits, to a reason that rightly examines it will appear very feasible.*] Yet *Apelles* the Disciple of *Mercion*, took upon him to deride the History of *Moses* in this particular, alledging that it must needs be a fable, for that it was impossible so many creatures should be contain'd in so small a space. *Origen* and St *Aug.* to answer this pretended difficulty, alledg that *Moses* in this place speakes of Geometrical (and not vulgar) cubits, of which every one was as much as six vulgar ones; and so no difficulty. But *Perer. l.* 10. *com. in Genes. quest.* 5. *de area*, rejects this opinion of *Origen*, as being both against Reason and Scripture.

1. Because that sort of Cubit was never in use amongst any people, and therefore absurd to think *Moses* should intend it in this place.

2. If *Moses* should not speak of the same Cubits here, that he mentions in others places, there would be great equivocation in Scripture: now in another place, *i. e. Exod.* 27. he saith, God commanded him to make an Altar three Cubits high; which if it shall be meant of Geometrical Cubits it will contain 18. vulgar Cubits; which

which would not only render it uſeleſs, but would be contrary to the command which he ſaith God gave him, *Exod.* 20. *Thou ſhalt not go up by ſteps to my Altar.* For without ſteps what man could reach it? It muſt therefore be meant of ordinary Cubits; but that being ſo, it was very feaſible. I can more eaſily believe than underſtand it.

And put the honeſt Father to the Refuge of a Miracle] This honeſt Father was St. *Aug.* who delivers his opinion, that it might be miraculouſly done, *lib.* 16. *de Civ. Dei, cap.* 7. where having propoſed the queſtion how it might be done, he anſwers, *Quod ſi homines eas captas ſecum adduxerunt, & eo modo ubi habitabant earum, genera inſtituerunt, venandi ſtudio fieri potuiſſe incredibile non eſt, quamvis juſſu Dei ſive permiſſu etiam opera Angelorum negandum non ſit potuiſſe tranſferri*; but St. *Aug.* ſaith not that it could not be done without a miracle.

And 1500 *years to people the World, as full a time,* &c.]

That Methuſalem *was the longeſt liv'd of all the children of* Adam, *&c.*] See both theſe Points cleared by the Author, in *Pſeudodox. Epidemic.* the firſt, *lib.* 6. *cap.* 6. the other *lib.* 7. *cap.* 3.

That Judas *periſhed by hanging himſelf, there is no certainty in Scripture, though in one place it ſeems to affirm it, and by a doubtful word hath given occaſion to tranſlate it; yet in another place, in a more punctual Deſcription it makes it improbable, and ſeems to overthrow it.*] Theſe two places that ſeem to contradict one another, are *Matth.* 27 5. and *Acts* 1. 8. The doubtful word he ſpeaks of is in the place of *Mathew*; it is ἀπήγξατο, which ſignifieth ſuffocation as well as hanging, (ἀπελθὼν ἀπήγξατο, which may ſignifie literally, after he went out he was choak'd) but *Eraſmus* tranſlates it, *abiens laqueo ſe ſuſpendit*: The words in the *Acts* are, *When he had thrown down himſelf headlong, he burſt in the midſt, and all his Bowels guſhed out*; which ſeems to differ much from the expreſſion of *Mathew*; yet the Ancient Writers and Fathers of the Church do unanimouſly agree that he was hanged. Some I ſhall cite. *Anaſtaſ. Sinaita, l.* 7. *Anagog. Contempl. Unus latro ingratus cum eſſet typus Diaboli, & Serpentis, & Judæ, qui ſe in ligno ſuffocavit. Gaudentius Brixienſ. tract.* 13. *de nata'. Dom. Mortem debitam laqueo ſibimet intulit preparato,* &c. *Drogottoſhen. de ſacram. dominic. paſs. Jamdiu erat quidem quod Chriſto receſſerat, & avaritiæ laqueo ſe ſuſpenderat, ſed quod fecerat in occulto, palam omnibus innotuit. S. Martialis in Ep. ad Tholoſanos. Non ſuſtinuit pœnitentiam, donec laqueo mortis ſeipſum conſumpſit. Ignat. ad Philippenſ. Diabolus laqueum ei oſtendit, & ſuſpendium docuit.* Leo *Serm.* 3. *de paſſion.*—— *Ut quia facinus omnem menſuram ultionis exceſſerat, te haberet impietas tua judicem, te pateretur ſua pœna Carnificem. Theodoret. lib.* 1. *hæretic.* [illegible]*bul. Ille protinus ſtrangulatus eſt, quæ fuit merces ejus proditionis.* [illegible]*ſoſtom. Hom.* 3. *de proditore. Pependit cœlum terramq; inter me-*[illegible]*o funere ſuffocatus, & cum flagitio ſuo tumefacta, viſcera crepu-*

erunt, &c. Bernard. *Serm.* 8 *in Pſal.* 9. *Judas in Aere crepuit medius.*

There are thoſe that are ſo particular, that they acquaint us with the manner, as *that it was done with a Cord. Antiochus Laurenſis, Spem omnem a ſe cum abjeciſſet inſiliente in eum inimico (ſc. Diabolo) funiculo ſibi præfocavit gulam.* Oecumen. *in Act. fracto funiculo qui erat ſuffocatus decidit in terram præcipitio.* 2. *That it was done on a* Fig-Tree, *Beda. Portam David egredientibus fons occurrit in Auſtrum per vallem directus, ad cujus medietatem ab occaſu Judas ſe ſuſpendiſſe narratur: Nam & ficus magna ibi & vetuſtiſſima ſtat.*

Juven *lib.* 4. *Hiſt. Evangelic.*

Exorſuſq; ſuas laqueo ſibi ſumere pœnas,
Infirmem rapuit ficus de vertice mortem.

3. Some acquaint us with the time when it was done, *viz. the next day after he had given the kiſs. Su Chryſoſtom. Homil* 1. *de proditor. & Myſterio Cœn. Dominic. Guttur prophanum quod hodie Chriſto extendit ad oſculum, craſtino ex illud extenſurus ad laqueum.* But there are two, that is, *Euthymius* and *Oecumenius*, that tell us, *that the hanging did not kill him*, but that either the Rope broke, or that he was cut down, and afterwards caſt himſelf down headlong, as it is related in the before mentioned place of the *Acts: Agnitus à quibuſdam depoſitus eſt ne præfocaretur, deniq; poſtquam in ſecreto quodam loco modico vixiſſet tempore præ eps factus ſive præcipitatus, inflatus diruptus, ac diffiſus eſt medius, & effuſa ſunt omnia viſcera ejus; ut in* Actis. *Euthym.* cap. 67. *in Math. Judas ſuſpendio è vita non deceſſit, ſed ſupervixit, dejectus eſt enim priuſquam præfocaretur, idq; Apoſtolorum Acta indicant, quod pronus crepuit medius.* Oecumen. in Act. And this may ſerve to reconcile theſe two ſeemingly diſagreeing Scriptures.

That our Fathers after the Flood erected the Tower of Babel.] For this ſee what the Author ſaith in his *Pſeudodox. Epidemic.* l. 7. c. 6.

Sect. 22. *And cannot but commend the judgment of* Ptolomy.] He means of
Pag. 19. *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*, who founded the Library of *Alexandria*, which he ſpeaks of in the next Section, he was King of *Egypt*; and having bui t and furniſhed that Library with all the choyceſt Books he could get from any part of the world, and having good correſpondence with *Eleazer* the high Prieſt of the *Jews*, by reaſon that he had releaſed the *Jewes* from Captivity, who were taken by his Predeceſſor *Ptolomæus Lagi*; he did by the adviſe of *Demetrius Phalereus* the *Athenian*, whom he had made his Library-Keeper, write to *Eleazer*, deſiring him, that he would cauſe the Books of the *Jewes* which contained their Laws, to be tranſlated for him into Greek, that he might

might have them to put into his Library: To which the Priest consents; and for the Kings better satisfaction, sends to him Copies of the Books, and with the same, 72 Interpreters skilled both in the Greek and Hebrew Language, to translate them for him into Greek; which afterwards they performed. This is for certain; but whether they translated only the *Pentateuch*, as St. *Jerome* would have it, or together with the Books of the Prophets also, as *Leo de Castro* and *Baronius* contend, I undertake not to determine: but as to that part of the story, that these Interpreters were put into so many several Cells, whilst they were about the work of translation; and notwithstanding they were thus severed, that they all translated it *totidem verbis*; it is but reason to think with St. *Jerome* (notwithstanding the great current of Authority against him) that it is no better than a Fable.

The Alcoran of the Turks (I speak without prejudice) is an ill composed piece, containing in it vain and ridiculous errors in Philosophy, &c.] It is now in every mans hand, having been lately translated into English; I shall therefore observe but these few particulars in it, in regard the book it self is so common; and indeed they are not mine own, but *Lipsius* his observations. He begins, *O nugas, O deliria! primum* (saith he) *commentus est, Deum unum solidumq;* (ὁλόθεον *Græci exprimunt*) *eundemq; incorporeum esse. Christum non Deum, sed magnum vatem & prophetam, se tamen majorem, & proxime a Deo missum, præmia qui ipsum audient Paradisum, qui post aliquot annorum milia reserabitur, ibi quatuor flumina lactis, vini, mellis, aquæ fluere, ibi palatia & ædificia gemmata atq; aurata esse, carnes avium suavissimarum, fructus omne genus quos sparsi jacentesq; sub umbra arborum edent: se & cuput felicitatis, viros fœminasq; majores solito magnis Genitalibus assidua libidine, & ejus usu sine tædio aut fatigatione.* These and some others that are in the Alcoran he reckons up. *Sed & Physica quoq; miranda* (saith he) *nam facit Solem & Lunam in equis vehi, illum autem in aquam calidam vespere mergi, & bene lotum ascendere atq; oriri, Stellas in aere è catenis aureis pendere, terram in bovini cornu cuspide stabilitum, & agitante se bove ac succutiente fieri terræ motum, hominem autem ex hirundine aut sanguisuga nasci,* &c. Just. Lips. *Monit. & exempl. politic.* cap. 3.

I believe besides Zoroaster *there were divers others that wrote before Moses.*] *Zoroaster* was long before *Moses*, and of great name; he was the father of *Ninus*, *Justin. lib.* 1. *Si quemlibet vetustum emolumentum probaveritis, ego ille sim Carinondas vel Damigeron, vel is Moses, vel Joannes, vel Apollonius, vel ipse Dardanus, vel quicunq; alius* post Zoroastrem *& Hostanem, inter Magos celebratus est.* Apulcius in Apol.

Others with as many groans deplore the combustion of the Library at Alexandria.] This was that Library before spoken of, set up by *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*; in which 'tis reported by *Ammianus Marcellinus*,

cellinus there were 700000 volumes; it was burnt by *Jul. Cæsars* means, whose Navy being environ'd before *Alexandria*, he had no means to keep off the enemy, but by flinging of fire, which at length caught the Library and consumed it, as *Plutarch* hath it in *Vita Cæsaris*: but notwithstanding we have no reason to believe it was quite consumed, because *Sueton.* in *Claudius*, tells us, that that Emperour added another to it; and there must be somwhat before, if it were an addition; but true it is too many of the Books perished: to repair which loss, care was taken by *Domitian* the Emperour, as the same *Sueton.* and *Aurel. Victor.* do relate.

I would not omit a Copy of Enochs *Pillars, had they many nearer Authors than* Josephus, *&c.*] For this the Story is, that *Enoch*, or his Father *Seth*, having been inform'd by *Adam*, that the world was to perish once by water, and a second time by fire, did cause two Pillars to be erected, the one of Stone against the water, and another of Brick against the fire; and that upon those Pillars was engraven all such Learning as had been delivered to, or invented by Mankind; and that thence it came that all knowledge and learning was not lost by means of the Flood, by reason that one of the Pillars (though the other perished) did remain after the *Flood*; and *Josephus* witnesseth, till his time, *lib.* 1. *Antiq. Judaic.* cap. 3.

Of those three great Inventions of Germany, *there are two which are not without their Incommodities.*] Those two he means are *Printing* and *Gunpowder*, which are commonly taken to be *German* Inventions; but Artillery was in *China* above 1500. years since, and Printing long before it was in *Germany*, if we may believe *Juan Gonzales Mendoza* in his *Hist.* of *China*, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 15, 16. The incommodities of these two Inventions, are well described by *Sam. Daniel*, lib. 6. of the Civil Wars.

Fierce Nemesis, *mother of Fate and Change,*
Sword-bearer of th' Eternal Providence,
Turns her stern look at last into the' West,
As griev'd to see on earth such happy rest;
And for Pandora *calleth presently,*
Pandora Joves *fair gift, that first deceived*
Poor Epimetheus *in his imbecility.*
That though he had a wondrous boon received,
By means whereof curious mortality
Was of all former quiet quite bereaved.
To whom being come deckt with all qualities,
The wrathful Goddess breaks out in this wise:
Dost thou not see in what secure estate,
Those flourishing fair Western Parts remain?

As

As if they had made Covenant with Fate,
To be exempted, free from others pain,
At one with their desires, friends with debate,
In peace with pride, content with their own gain.
Their bounds contain their minds, their minds applyed
To have their bonds with plenty beautified.
Devotion (Mother of Obedience)
Bears such a hand on their credulity,
That it abates the spirit of eminence,
And busies them with humble piety:
For see what works, what infinite expence,
What Monuments of zeal they edifie,
As if they would, so that no stop were found,
Fill all with Temples, make all holy ground.
But we must cool this all-believing zeal,
That hath enjoy'd so fair a turn so long, &c.
Dislike of this first by degrees shall steal,
As upon souls of men perswaded wrong;
And that the sacred power which thus hath wrought,
Shall give her self the Sword to cut her throat.
Go therefore thou with all thy stirring Train
Of swelling Sciences (the gifts of grief)
Go loose the links of that soul binding Chain,
Enlarge this uninquisitive belief:
Call up mens spirits, that simpleness retain,
Enter their hearts, and knowledg make the Thief
To open all the Doors to let in Light,
That all may all things see but what is right.
Opinion arm against opinion (grown)
Make new-born contradictions still arise,
As if Thebes *Founder* (Cadmus) *tongues had sown*
Instead of teeth, for greater mutinies:
Bring new defended faith against faith known,
Weary the soul with contrarieties,
Till all Religion become Retrograde,
And that fair tye the mask of sin be made:
And better to effect a speedy end,
Let there be found two fatal Instruments, Printing.
The one to publish, the other to defend
Impious contention, and proud discontents:
Make that instamped Characters may send
Abroad to thousands, thousand mens intents,
And in a moment may dispatch much more,
Than could a world of Pens perform before;

Where-

Whereby all quarrels, Titles, ſecreſies,
May unto all be preſently made known,
Factions prepar'd, Parties allur'd to riſe,
Seditions under fair pretences ſown;
Whereby the vulgar may become ſo wiſe
That with a ſelf preſumption overgrown,
They may of deepeſt Myſteries debate,
Controul their betters, cenſure acts of State.
And then when this diſperſed miſchief ſhall
Have brought confuſion in each myſtery,
Call'd up contempts of State in general,
And ripen'd the humour of impiety,
Guns. *Then take the other Engine wherewithall*
They may torment their ſelf-wrought miſery;
And ſcourge each other in ſo ſtrange a wiſe,
As time or tyrants never could deviſe, &c.

See *Bellermontan.* in his *Diſſertat. Politic. diſſert.* 29. and 30.

For the other Invention, the Latine Annotator doubts whether the Author means Church-Organs, or Clocks? I ſuppoſe he means Clocks, becauſe I find that Invention reckon'd by a *German*, with the other two, as a remarkable one. It is by *Busbequius*, ſpeaking of the Turks, who hath theſe words, *Teſtes majores minoreſq; bombardæ, multaq; alia quæ ex noſtris excogitata ipſi ad ſe avertunt; ut libros tamen typis excuderent, horologia in publico haberent, nondum adduci potuerunt, Epiſt. Legat. Turcic.* I ſuppoſe if he had known any Invention which next to the other two had been greater than this, he would not have named this, and this being the next conſiderable, we have no cauſe to doubt but the Author meant it.

To maintain the Trade and Myſtery of Typographers.] Of this *Cunæus* in his *Satyre Sardi vernales. Qui bis in anno nomen ſuum ad Germanorum nundinas non tranſmittit, eruditionem ſuam in ordinem eo actam credit, itaq; nunquam tot fungi una pluvia naſcuntur, quot nunc libri uno die.*

Sect. 25. Pag. 21. *The* Turk *in the bulk that he now ſtands, is beyond all hope of converſion.*] That is, in reſpect of his great ſtrength, againſt which it is not probable the Chriſtians will prevail, as it is obſerved by *Monſieur de Silhon. La Race des Ottomans* (ſaith he) *que oſte a Dieu la Religion qu'il a revelee, & aux hommes la liberte que le droit des Gens leur laiſſe a fait tant de progres depuis trois Cens & quelques annees qu'il ſemble qu'elle n' ait plus nen a craindre de dehorſe, & que ſon empire ne puiſſe perirqu par la corruption de dedans, & par la diſſolution des parties qui compo-*

compoſent un corps ſi vaſte. Mr. de Silhon en ſon Miniſt. D' Eſtat. l. 1. *c.*

None can more juſtly boaſt of perſecutions, and glory in the number and valour of martyrs.] Of the fortitude of the Chriſtians in this particular, *Minutius Fælix*, in the perſon of the Ethnick, hath theſe words, *Per mira ſtultitia & incredibili audacia ſpernunt tormenta præſentia, dum incerta metuunt & futura; & dum mori poteſt mortem timent, interim mori non timent.* And afterwards, when he ſpeaks in the perſon of the Chriſtian; he ſaith, that Chriſtian-women and children have in this ſurpaſſed *Scævola* and *Regulus*: *Viros* (ſaith he) *cum Mutio vel cum Atilio Regulo comparo: pueri & mulierculæ noſtræ Cruces & Tormenta, feras & omnes ſuppliciorum terriculas inſpirata patientia doloris illudunt.* Minut. *in* Octav. *vide Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib.* 1. *c.* 23, 24.

If we ſhall ſtrictly examine the circumſtances and requiſites which Ariſtotle *requires to true and perfect valour, we ſhall find the name only in his Maſter* Alexander, *(that is, no more than the Name) and as little in that Roman worthy* Julius Cæſar.] *Ariſtot.* 3. *Ethic. cap.* 7. amongſt other requiſites, requires to valour, that it keep a mediocrity betwixt audacity and fear; that we thruſt not our ſelves into danger when we need not; that we ſpare not to ſhew our valour when occaſion requires: He requires for its proper object, Death; and to any death, he prefers death in War, becauſe thereby a man profits his Country and Friends; and that he calls *mors honeſta*, an honeſt or honourable death: and thereupon he defines a valiant man to be, *Is qui morte honeſta propoſita, iiſq; omnibus quæ cum ſint repentina mortem adfuerunt metu vacat.* So that by the Authors ſaying, there was only the Name in *Alexander*, he means only that which is rendred in the two laſt words *metu vacans*, and not the reſt that goes to make up the definition of a valiant man, which is very truly affirmed of *Alexander*, who expoſed himſelf to hazzard many times when there was no cauſe for it: As you may read in *Curtius*, he did, in the ſiege of *Tyrus*, and many other wayes. *Cettuy-cy ſemble recercher & courir a force les dangiers comme un impeteux torrent, qui choque & attaque ſans diſcretion, & ſans chois tout ce qu'l rencontre*, ſaith *Montaign*, ſpeaking of *Alexander*, l. 2. *des Eſs.* cap. 34. And for *Cæſar*, it cannot be denyed, but in his Wars he was many times (though not ſo generally as *Alexander*) more adventrous than reaſon military could warrant to him; and therefore *Lucan* gives him no better Character than

Acer & indomitus quo ſpes quoq; ira vocaſſet
Ferre manum, &c.

Lucan. lib. 1.

To

To inſtance in ſome Particulars: With what an inconſiderable ſtrength did he enterprize the conqueſt of *Egypt*, and afterwards went to attaque the forces of *Scipio* and *Juba*, which were ten times more than his own? after the Battle of *Pharſalia*, having ſent his Army before into *Aſia*, and croſſing the *Helleſpont* with one ſingle Veſſel, he there meets *Lucius Caſſius* with ten men of War, he makes up to him, ſummons him to render, and he doth it. In the famous and furious ſiege of *Alexia*, where he had 80000 men to make defence againſt him, and an Army of one hundred and nine thouſand Horſe, and two hundred and forty thouſand foot, all marching towards him, to raiſe his ſiege; yet for all that he would not quit the Siege, but firſt fought with thoſe without, and obtain'd a great Victory over them, and ſoon afterwards brought the beſieged to his mercy.

Sect. 26. *Pag.* 21. *The Council of* Conſtance *condemns* John Huſſe *for an Heretick, the Stories of his own Party ſtyle him a Martyr.*] *John Huſſe* did agree with the Papiſts againſt us in the Point of Invocation of Saints, Prayers and Sacrifice for the Dead, free Will, Good Works, confeſſion of ſins, ſeven Sacraments, *&c. Gordon. Huntl. contr.* 3. *de Sacr. Euch. cap.* 17. Yet was he condemned for maintaining certain Articles ſaid by that Council to be heretical and ſeditious, and was burnt for Hereſie. Now as I will not ſay he was an Heretick, ſo can I not maintain that he was a Martyr, if it be but for this one Article, which in the 15. Seſſ. of that Council was objected againſt him, which he did acknowledge, but would not recal, *i. e. Nullus eſt Dominus Civilis, dum eſt in peccato mortali.* If that Doctrine ſhould be believed, we ſhall have little obedience to civil Magiſtrates; and without that, how miſerable is humane condition? That which begat compaſſion towards *Huſſe* in thoſe of his own Party was, that he had a ſafe conduct from the Emperour *Sigiſmund*; and therefore it was, ſay they, a violation of publick faith in the *Council* and *Emperour* in putting him to death.

That wiſe heathen Socrates *that ſuffered on a fundamental Point of Religion, the Unity of God.*] That *Socrates* ſuffered on this Point, divers Chriſtian Writers do object to the Ethniques, as *Juſtin Martyr*, Apol. 2. *Euſeb. l.* 5. *de præparat. Evangelic. c.* 14. *Tertul.* in *Apolog.* cap. 14. and *Lactant. de juſtitia*, cap. 15. whoſe words are theſe: *Plato quidem multa de uno deo locutus eſt, à quo ait conſtitutum eſſe mundum, ſed nihil de Religione; ſomniaverat enim Deum, non cognoverat. Quod ſi juſtitiæ defenſionem vel ipſe vel quilibet alius implere voluiſſet, imprimis Deorum Religiones evertere debuit, quia contrariæ pietati. Quod quidem* Socrates *quia facere tentavit in carcerem conjectus eſt, ut jam tunc appareret quid eſſet futurum iis hominibus qui juſtitiam veram defendere, Deoque ſingulari ſervire cœpiſſent.*

I have often pitied the miſerable Biſhop that ſuffered in the cauſe of Antipodes] The ſuffering was, that he loſt his Biſhoprick for denying the

the *Antipodes*, Vid. *Aventin. in Hiſt. Boio.* Beſides him, there were other Church-men of great note, that denyed *Antipodes*, as *Lactantius*, *Auguſtin*, and *Bede*.

I hold that God can do all things: How he ſhould work contradictions, I do not underſtand, yet dare not therefore deny.] Who would not think the Author had taken this from Mr. *Montaign*, whoſe words are, *Il m' a tousjours ſemble qu'a un homme Chriſtien, cette ſorte de parter eſt plein d' indiſcretion & d' irreverence* [*Dieu ne ſe peuit diſdire,*] [*Dieu ne peuit faire cecy ou cela*] *je ne trouve pas bon d'enfermer ainſi la puiſſance divine ſous les loix de noſtre parole. Et l'apparence qui ſ' offre à nous en ſes propoſitions, il la faudroit repreſenter plus reverement, & plus Religieuſement.* Liv. 2 des Eſſ. c. 12. Sect. 27. Pag. 22.

I cannot ſee why the Angel of God ſhould queſtion Eſdras *to recal the time paſt, if it were beyond his own power, or that God ſhould poſe mortality in that which he was not able to perform himſelf.*] Sir *K. Digby* in his Notes upon this place ſaith there is no contradiction in this, becauſe he ſaith it was but putting all things that had motion into the ſame ſtate they were in at that moment, unto which time was to be reduced back, and from thence letting it travail on again by the ſame motions, *&c.* which God could do. But under favour, the contradiction remains, if this were done that he mentions; for Time depends not at all upon motion, but has a being altogether independent of it, and therefore the ſame revolution would not bring back the ſame time, for that was efflux'd before; as in the time of *Joſhua*, when the Sun ſtood ſtill, we cannot but conceive, though there were no motion of the Sun, but that there was an efflux of Time, otherwiſe, how could the text have it, *That there was not any day, before or after, that was ſo long as that?* for the length of it muſt be underſtood in reſpect of the flux of time. The reaſoning of Sir *Kenelme* is founded upon the opinion of *Ariſtot.* who will needs have it, that Time cannot be without mutation; he gives this for a reaſon, becauſe when we have ſlept, and cannot perceive any mutation to have been, we do therefore uſe to connect the time of our ſleeping and of our awaking together, and make but one of it: to which it may be anſwered, although ſome mutation be neceſſary, that we may mark the flux of time, it doth not therefore follow that the mutation is neceſſary to the flux it ſelf.

I excuſe not Conſtantine *from a fall off his Horſe, or a miſchief from his enemies, upon the wearing thoſe nails,* &c.] *Hac de re videatur P. Diac. hiſt. miſcell.* Sect. 28. Pag. 23.

I wonder how the curioſity of wiſer heads could paſs that great and indiſputable miracle, the ceſſation of Oracles.] There are three opinions touching the manner how the predictions of theſe Oracles were perform'd: Some ſay by vapour, ſome by the intelligences, or influences Sect. 29. Pag. 23.

of the Heavens, and others say by the assistance of the Devils. Now the indisputable miracle the Author speaks of, is, that they ceas'd upon the coming of Christ; and it is generally so believed; and the Oracle of *Delphos* delivered to *Augustus*, mentioned by the Author in this Section, is brought to prove it, which is this:

Me puer Hebræus divos Deus ipse gubernans
Cedere sede jubet, tristemq; redire sub orcum.
Aris ergo dehinc tacitus discedito nostris.

But yet it is so far from being true that their cessation was miraculous, that the truth is, there never were any predictions given by those Oracles at all.

That their cessation was not upon the coming of Christ, we have luculent testimony out of *Tully*, in his 2. *lib. de Divinat.* which he writ many years before Christ was born; who tells us that they were silent (and indeed he never thought they were otherwise) long before that time, insomuch that they were come into contempt: *Cur isto modo jam oracula Delphis non eduntur, non modo nostra ætate, sed jamdiu jam ut nihil possit esse contemptius.* So that for that of *Delphos*, which was the most famous of them all, we see we have no reason to impute the cessation of it to Christ; Why therefore should we do so for any of the rest?

2. For their predictions, let us consider the three several wayes before mentioned, whereby they are supposed to operate; and from thence see whether it be probable that any such Oracles ever were.

The first Opinion is, that it was by exhalation or vapour drawn up from the earth; and gives this for a reason of their being, that they were for a time nourished by those exhalations; and when those ceased, and were exhausted, the Oracles famish'd and dyed for want of their accustom'd sustenance: this is the far-fetcht reason given by *Plutarch* for their defect; but 'twas not devised by him, but long before, as appears, in that *Tully* scoffs at it, *lib. de divinat. De vino aut salsamento putes loqui* (saith he) *quæ evanescunt vetustate.* This seem'd absurd to others, who do therefore say this was not to be attributed to any power of the Earth, but to the power of the Heavens, or *Intelligences Cœlestial*; to certain aspects whereof, they say, the Statua's of those Oracles were so adapted, that they might divine and foretel future events. But yet to others, this way seemeth as absurd as the others; for, say they, admitting that there were an efficacy in the Heavens, more than in the Earth; yet how can it be that men should come by the skill to fit the Statua's to the Aspects or influences of the Heavens? or if at any time they had such skill, why should not the same continue the rather, because men are more skilled in the motions

tions of the Heavens, of later than in the former time? Again, they do not ſee how it ſhould be that the cauſe ſhould be of leſs excellency than the effect; for if a man (ſay they) can by his induſtry make ſuch Oracles, why can he not produce the ſame effect in another man? for if you affirm that the Heavens influence is requiſite, they will tell you that Influence may happen as well to a man, as to a Statua of wood or ſtone. Therefore the third ſort being unſatisfied, which either of the former wayes conclude, that this was perform'd by the Devil; but for that it will appear as contrary to Reaſon and Philoſophy, as either of the former; for Philoſophy teacheth that things ſingular, or individual, are to be known only by ſenſe, or by ſuch an Intellect, as doth know by its Eſſence; and Theology teacheth that God only knoweth the heart, and that the Devil doth not know by ſenſe, nor by eſſence; and ſince 'tis admitted by all, that moſt of the anſwers that were pretended to be given by thoſe Oracles, were *de rebus ſingularibus*, or *individuis*; it is evident that theſe predictions were not perform'd by Devils. How then? why thoſe predictions which the ignorant Heathen took to come from Heaven, and ſome Chriſtians (not leſs ignorant) from the Devil, was nothing but the jugling and impoſtures of the Prieſts, who from within the Statua's gave the anſwers; which Princes connived at, that they might upon occaſion ſerve their turns upon the ignorance of the people; and the learned men, for fear of their Princes, durſt not ſpeak againſt it. *Lucian* hath noted it, and ſo a more authentick Author, *Minut. Felix*, in *Octav. Authoritatem quaſi præſentis numinis conſequuntur dum inſpirantur interim vatibus.* But in proceſs of time, the people grew leſs credulous of their Prieſts, and ſo the Oracles became to be ſilent: *Cum jam* (ſaith he) *Apollo verſus facere deſiſſet, cujus tunc cantum illud & ambiguum defecit oraculum: Cum & politiores homines & minus ereduli eſſe cœperunt.* Sir *H. Blount* in his *Levantine* voyage, ſaith he ſow the Statua of *Memnon* ſo famous of old; he ſaith it was hollow at top, and that he was told by the *Egyptians* and Jews there with him, that they had ſeen ſome enter there, and come out at the Pyramid, two Bows-ſhoot off; then (ſaith he) I ſoon believ'd the Oracle, and believe all the reſt to have been ſuch; which indeed, is much eaſier to imagine than that it was perform'd by any of the three wayes before mentioned. St. *Aug.* hath compoſed a Book, where he handleth this point at large, and concludeth that the Devils can no more foretel things to come, than they are able to diſcern the thoughts that are within us. *Aug. lib. de Scientia Dæmon.*

Till I laughed my ſelf out of it with a piece of Juſtin, *where he delivers that the Children of* Iſrael *for being ſcabbed were baniſhed out of* Egypt.] Theſe words of *Juſtin* are, *Sed cum ſcabiem Ægyptii & pruriginem paterentur, reſponſo moniti, eum (ſc. Moyſen) cum ægris, ne*

peſtis ad plures ſerperet, terminis Ægypti pellunt. l. 36. But he is not ſingular in this, for *Tacitus* tells us, *Hiſt. lib.* 5. *Plurimi authores conſentiunt orta per Ægyptum tabe quæ corpora fœdaret, Regem (Ochorim)* (he means *Pharaoh*) *adito Hammonis oraculo remedium petentem purgare Regnum & id genus hominum —— alias in terras avertere juſſum.* Et paulo inferius, *Quod ipſos ſcabies quondam turpaverat.*

Sect. 30. *Pag.* 24. *I have ever believed, and do now know that there are Witches*] What ſort of Witches they were that the Author knew to be ſuch, I cannot tell; for thoſe which he mentions in the next Section, which proceed upon the principles of Nature, none have denyed that ſuch there are; againſt ſuch it was, that the *Lex Julia de veneficiis* was made, that is, thoſe, *Qui noxio poculo aut impuris medicaminibus aliquem furtim inſectati. Al. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. l.* 5. *c.* 1. But for the opinion that there are Witches which co operate with the Devil, there are Divines of great note, and far from any ſuſpition of being irreligious, that do oppoſe it. Certainly there is no ground to maintain their being from the ſtory of Oracles, as may be ſeen from what hath been ſaid on the precedent Section.

Nor have the power to be ſo much as Witches.] *Pliny* ſaith, ſo it fared with *Nero*, who was ſo hot in purſuit of the Magick Arts, that he did dedicate himſelf wholly to it, and yet could never ſatisfie himſelf in that kind, though he got all the cunning men he could from the Eaſt, for that purpoſe. *Plin. l.* 3. *Nat. Hiſt. c.* 1.

By conjunction with the Devil] Though, as the Author ſaith, it be without a poſſibility of Generation, yet there are great men that hold, that ſuch carnality is performed; as *Auguſt. in Levit. Aquin. l.* 2. *de qu.* 73. *art. ad* 2. and *Justin Martyr. Apol.* 1.

Sect. 33. *Pag.* 26. *It is no new opinion of the Church of* Rome, *but an old one of* Pythagoras *and* Plato] This appears by *Apuleius* a Platoniſt, in his Book *de Deo Socratis*, and elſewhere. See *Mede's Apoſtaſie of the latter times*, where out of this and other Authors, you ſhall ſee collected all the learning *de Geniis*.

I cannot with thoſe in that great Father ſecurely interpret the work of the firſt day, Fiat lux, *to the creation of Angels.*] This great Father is S. *Chryſoſt Homil in Geneſ.* But yet 'tis his opinion, as alſo of *Athanaſius* and *Theodoret*, that there is expreſs mention of the creation of Angels, ſo that they need not reſt upon this place, which they admit to be ſomewhat obſcure. The place which they take to be expreſs, is that of the 130 *Pſalm*, where *David* begins to ſpeak of the Majeſty of God, in this manner: *Confeſſionem ſive majeſtatem & decorem induiſti, amictus lumine ſicut veſtimento:* Next he ſpeaks of the Heavens, ſaying, *Thou haſt ſtretched them out over us like a Tent.* Then he ſpeaks of the Angels. *Qui facis Angelos tuos ſpiritus.* Now if it ſhall be objected, that this expreſſion is onely of the time preſent, and without

without relation to the Creation: Anſwer is given by Divines, that the *Hebrews* have but three Tenſes in their Verbs, the Preterperfect, Preſent, and Future Tenſe; and have not the uſe of the Preterimperfect, and Preterpluperfect, as the *Greeks* and *Latines* have; whence it ariſeth, that the Preſent Tenſe with the *Hebrews*, may, as the ſentence will bear it, be tranſlated by the Preterimperfect, as alſo by the Preterperfect and Preterpluperfect Tenſe; and this (they ſay) is practiſed in this very paſſage, where the Phraſe, as it is in Hebrew, may be rendred as well *qui faciebas*, as *qui facis Angelos*, &c. Vid. *Hieronym. in Ep. ad Titum*, & *Thom. Aqu.* 1. *p. qu.* 61. *art* 3. The Latine Annotator ſaith, the Father meant by the Author, is St. *Aug.* and quotes him, *l.* 11. *de Civ. Dei*, cap. 9. which place I have peruſed, and find the expreſſion there uſed by St. *Aug.* is but hypothetical; for theſe are his words: *Cum enim dixit Fiat lux, & facta eſt lux, ſi rectè in hac luce creatio intelligitur Angelorum*, &c. Where you ſee 'tis but with a *Si*, and therefore I conceive the Author intends not him, but *Chryſoſtom*.

Where it ſubſiſts alone, 'tis a Spiritual Subſtance, and may be an Angel,] *Epicurus* was of this opinion, and St. *Aug. in Enchirid. ad Laurentium.*

Moſes *decided that Queſtion*, *and all is ſalved with the new term of Creation*] That is it which *Ariſtotle* could not underſtand; he had learned that *ex nihilo nihil fit*, and therefore when he found thoſe that diſputed that the World had a beginning, did maintain that it was generated, and he could not underſtand any generation, but out of matter præ-exiſtent *in infinitum*, therefore he took their opinion to be abſurd, and upon that ground principally, concluded the World to be eternal: whereas, if he had underſtood that there may be ſuch a thing as Creation, he had not done it, for that ſolves his *proceſſus in infinitum*. Take from *Plato*, that the World had a beginning, and from *Ariſtot.* that it was not generated, and you have the (true) Chriſtian opinion. Sect. 35. Pag. 28.

In our ſtudy of Anatomy, there is a maſs of myſterious Philoſophy, and ſuch as reduced the very Heathens to Divinity.] So it did *Galen*, who conſidering the order, uſe, and diſpoſition of the parts of the body, brake forth into theſe words: *Compono hic profectò Canticum in creatoris noſtri laudem, quod ultra res ſuas ornare voluit melius quam ulla arte poſſent.* Galen. 3. *de uſu partium.* Sect. 36. Pag. 29.

I cannot believe the wiſdom of Pythagoras *did ever poſitively, and in a literal ſenſe, affirm his* Metempſychoſis.] In this the opinion of *Grotius* is contrary to the Author, who ſaith this opinion was begotten by occaſion of the opinion of other Philoſophers, who in their diſcourſes of the life that is to be after this, brought ſuch arguments, *Quæ non magis de homine quam de beſtiis procedunt.* And therefore, ſaith he, *mirandum non eſt, ſi tranſitum animarum de hominibus in beſtias, de beſtiis* Sect. 37. Pag. 30.

in

in homines alii commenti ſunt. Lib. 2. de ver. Relig. Chriſt. (*vide etiam Annotat. ejuſd.*) But yet there is a ſhrewd objection againſt the opinion of *Pythagoras*, if he did mean it literally, which is caſt in by the Sectators of *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, which *Lucretius* remembers in theſe Verſes:

Præterea ſi immortalis natura animæ
Conſtat, & in corpus naſcentibus inſinuatur,
Cur ſuper ante actam ætatem meminiſſe nequimus?
Nec veſtigia geſtarum rerum ulla tenemus?
Namſi tanto per'ſt animi mutata poteſtas,
Omnis ut actarum excideret retinentia rerum,
Non ut opinor ea ab lato jam longiter errat.

This Argument, 'tis true, is *pro falſo contra falſum*, but yet holds *ad hominem* ſo far, that it is not likely (as the Author ſaith) but *Pythagoras* would obſerve an abſurdity in the conſequence of his Metempſychoſis; and therefore did not mean it literally, but deſired only to expreſs the Soul to be immortal, which he, and the other Philoſophers that were of that opinion, who had not heard of Creation, could not conceive, unleſs it muſt be taken for truth, that the ſoul were before the body; ſo ſaith *Lactantius* of them. *Non putaverunt aliter fieri poſſe ut ſuperſint animæ poſt corpora, niſi videntur fuiſſe ante corpora. De falſ. Sap.* c. 18.

Sect. 41. *Pag.* 32. *I do not envy the temper of Crows or Daws*] As *Theophraſtus* did, who dying, accuſed Nature for giving them, to whom it could not be of any concernment, ſo large a life; and to man, whom it much concern'd, ſo ſhort a one. *Cic. Tuſc. quæſt. l.* 3. How long Daws live, ſee in *Not. ad Sect.* 41.

Sect. 42. *Pag.* 33. *Not upon* Cicero's *ground, becauſe I have liv'd them well.*] I ſuppoſe he alludes to an expreſſion in an Epiſtle of *Cicero*, written in his Exile, to his wife and children, where he hath theſe words to his wife: *Quod reliquum eſt, te ſuſtenta mea Terentia ut potes, honeſtiſſime viximus, floruimus. Non vitium noſtrum ſed virtus nos afflixit, peccatum eſt nullum niſi quod non una animum cum ornamentis amiſimus.* l. 24. Ep. 4.

And ſtand in need of Eſons *bath before threeſcore.*] *Eſon* was the Father of *Jaſon*, and, at his requeſt, was by *Medea*, by the means of this Bath, reſtored to his youth. Ingredients that went into it, and the deſcription of *Medea's* performance, *Ovid* gives you, *l.* 7. *Metam.*

Interea calido poſitum medicamen aheno
Fervet & exultat, ſpumiſq; tumentibus albet.
Illic Æmonia radices valle reſectas,
Seminaq; & flores, & ſuccos incoquit atros

Adjicit

Adjicit extremo lapides Oriente petitos,
Et quas Oceani refluum mare lavit arenas:
Addidit exceptas lunæ de nocte pruinas,
Et Strigis infames ipsis cum carnibus alas,
Inq; virum soliti vultus mutare ferinos,
Ambigui pr secta lupi, nec defuit illi
Squamea Cinyphei tenuis membrana Chelindri,
Vivaciſq; jecur cervi; quibus insuper addit,
Ora, caputq; novem cornicis ſecula paſſæ.
His & mille aliis, poſtquam ſine nomine rebus.
Propoſitum inſtruxit mortali barbara munus
Arenti ramo jampridem mitis olivæ
Omnia confudit, ſummiſq; immiſcuit ima.
Ecce, vetus calido verſatus ſtipes aheno
Fit viridis primo, nec longo tempore frondes
Induit, & ſubito gravidis oneratur olivis.
At quacunq; cavo ſpumas ejecit aheno
Iguis, & in terram gutta cecidere calentes,
Vernat humus, floreſq; & mollia pabula ſurgunt.
Quæ ſimulac vidit, ſtricto Medea recludit.
Enſe ſenis jugulum, veteremq; extre cruorem
Paſſa replet ſuccis, quos poſtquam combibit Æſon,
Aut ore acceptas, aut vulnere, barba comæq;
Lanitie poſita, nigrum rapuere colurem.
Pulſa fugit macies: abeunt pallorq; ſituſque:
Adjectoq; cavæ ſupplentur corpore rugæ;
Membraq; luxuriant. Æſon miratur, & olim.
Ante quater denos hunc ſe reminiſcitur annos.
Diſſimilemq; animum ſubiit, ætate relicta.

Extol the Suicide of Cato] As doth *Seneca* in ſeveral places; but *Lactantius* ſaith, he caſt away his life, to get the reputation of a *Platonick* Philoſopher, and not for fear of *Cæſar*; and 'tis very probable, he was in no great fear of death, when he ſlept ſo ſecurely the night before his death, as the ſtory reports of him. *Sect.* 44. *Pag.* 34.

Emori nolo, ſed me eſſe mortuum, nihil curo. Were I of Cæſars *Religion.*] I doubt not, but here is a fault of the *Preſs*, and that inſtead of *Cæſar* it ſhould be *Cicero*. I meet not with any ſuch ſaying imputed to *Cæſar*, nor any thing like it, but that he preferr'd a ſudden death (in which he had his option) to any other; but I meet with ſuch a ſaying in *Cicero* quoted out of *Epicharmus* [*Emori nolo, ſed me eſſe mortuum nihili æſtimo*] Where *Cicero* ſuſtaineth the part of the Epicure, that there is no hurt in being dead, ſince there remaineth nothing after it. *Cic. 1. Tuſc. qu. non procul ab initio.*

Or

Or whence *Lucan* learn'd to ſay,

Sect. 45. Pag. 36. *Communis mundo ſupereſt rogus*, &c.] Why *Lucan* was a Stoique, and 'twas an opinion among them almoſt generally, that the world ſhould periſh by fire; therefore without doubt from them he learned it. *Cœlum quoque cum omnibus quæ in cœlo continentur, ita ut cœpiſſet deſinere, fontium dulci aqua mariſve nutriri, in vim ignis abiturum. Stoicis conſtans opinio eſt, quod conſumpto humore mundus hic omnis igneſcat. Minutius in Octav.* But *Minutius* ſhould have excepted *Boetius*, *Poſſidonius*, *Diogenes Babylonius*, and *Zeno Sidonius*, who were *Stoiques*, and yet did not think the world ſhould be deſtroyed by fire, nor yet by any other means.

Sect. 46. Pag. 36. *How ſhall we interpret* Elias 6000 *years*, &c.] *Lactant.* is very poſitive that the world ſhould laſt but 6000 years; but his reaſon for it is ſomewhat ſtrange; thus it is, *Quoniam ſex diebus cuncta Dei opera perfecta ſunt, per ſecula ſex*, i. e. *annorum ſex millia manere in hoc ſtatu mundum neceſſe eſt. De divino præmio*, cap. 14.

Sect. 47. Pag. 37. *Ipſa ſui pretium virtus ſibi, is but a cold principle.*] It is a Stoical principle. *Quæris enim aliquid ſupra ſummum, interrogas quid petam extra virtutem ipſam. Nihil enim habet melius. Pretium ſui eſt.* Senec. *de vit. beat.* c. 9.

That honeſt artifice of Seneca.] *What* that artifice was, is to be ſeen in *Senec. l.* 1. *ep.* 11. *Aliquis vir bonus nobis eligendus eſt, & ſemper ante oculos habendus, ut ſic tanquam illo ſpectante vivamus, & omnia tanquam illo vidente faciamus.* Et paulo poſt; *Elige itaq; Catonem; ſi hic videtur tibi nimis rigidus, elige remiſſioris animi virum Lelium*, &c. which though, as the Author ſaith, it be an honeſt Artifice, yet cannot I but commend the party, and prefer the direction of him (whoever he were) who in the Margin of my *Seneca*, over againſt thoſe words, wrote theſe: *Quin Deo potius qui ſemper omnibus omnia agentibus non tanquam ſed reipſa adeſt, & videt; ac etiam ut Teſtis, vindex & punitor eſt male agentis.*

I have tryed, if I could reach that great Reſolution of his (that is of Seneca) *to be honeſt without a thought of Heaven or Hell.*] * *Seneca* brags he could do this, in theſe words: *Si ſcirem deos peccata ignoſcituros, & homines ignoraturos, adhuc propter vilitatem peccati peccare erubeſcerem. Credat Judæus appella: non ego.*——

* *Thom. Aquin. in com. in Boet. de Conſolat. prope finem.*

And Atheiſts have been the onely Philoſophers.] That is, if nothing remain after this life. St. *Aug.* was of this opinion. *Diſputabam—— Epicurum accepturum fuiſſe palmam in animo meo, niſi ego credidiſſem poſt mortem reſtare animæ vitam*, &c. Aug. *l.* 6. *conf. cap.* 16.

Sect. 48. Pag. 38. *God by a powerful voice ſhall command them back into their proper ſhapes.*] So *Minutius*. *Cæterum quis tam ſtultus eſt aut brutus, & audeat repugnare hominem à Deo ut primum potuit fingi, ita poſſe denuo reformari, nihil eſſe poſt abitum, & ante ortum nihil fuiſſe; ſicut de nihilo naſci*

naſci licuit, ita de nihilo licere reparari. Porro difficilius eſt id quod ſit incipere, quod quam id quod fuerit iterare. Tu perire Deo credis, ſi quid noſtris oculis hebetibus ſubtrahitur. Corpus omne ſive areſcit in pulverem ſive in humorem ſolvitur, vel in cinerem comprimitur, vel in nidorem tenuatur, ſubducitur nobis, ſed Deo elementorum in cuſtodi inſeruntur. In Octav. Vide Grot. *de veritate Relig. Chriſtian. ubi (lib. 2.) ſolvit objectionem, quod diſſoluta corpora reſtitui nequeunt.*

Or conceive a flame that can either prey upon, or purifie the ſubſtance of a ſoul.] Upon this ground *Pſellus lib. 1. de Energia Damonum*, c. 7. holds that Angels have bodies, (though he grants them to be as pure, or more pure than Air is) otherwiſe he could not apprehend how they ſhould be tormented in Hell; and it may be upon this ground it was, that the Author fell into the error of the *Arabians*, mentioned by him, *Sect.* 7. *Sect.* 50. Pag. 39.

There are as many Hells as Anaxagoras *conceited worlds*] I aſſure my ſelf that this is falſe printed, and that inſtead of *Anaxagoras* it ſhould be *Anaxarchus*; for *Anaxagoras* is reckon'd amongſt thoſe Philoſophers that maintain'd the Unity of the world, but *Anaxarchus* (according to the opinion of *Epicurus*) held there were infinite VVorlds. This is he that caus'd *Alexander* to weep by telling him there were infinite worlds, whereby *Alexander* it ſeems was brought out of opinion of his Geography, who before that time thought there remained nothing, or not much beyond his Conqueſts. *Sect.* 51. Pag. 41.

It is hard to place thoſe ſouls in Hell.] *Lactantius* is alike charitably diſpoſed towards thoſe. *Non ſum equidem tam iniquus ut eos putem divinare debuiſſe, ut veritatem per ſeipſos invenirent (quod fieri. ego non poſſe confiteor) ſed hoc ab eis exigo, quod ratione ipſa præſtare potuerunt.* Lactant. *de orig. error.* c. 3. which is the very ſame with Sir *K. Digby*'s expreſſion in his Obſervations on this place. I make no doubt at all (ſaith he) but if any follow'd in the whole tenour of their lives, the dictamens of right reaſon, but that their journey was ſecure to Heaven. *Sect.* 44. Pag. 42.

Ariſtotle *tranſgreſs'd the rule of his own Ethicks.*] And ſo they did all, as *Lactantius* hath obſerved at large. *Ariſtot.* is ſaid to have been guilty of great vanity in his Clothes, of incontinency, of unfaithfulneſs to his Maſter *Alexander*, &c. But 'tis no wonder in him, if our great *Seneca* be alſo guilty, whom truely notwithſtanding St. *Jerome* would have him inſerted into the Catalogue of Saints, yet I think he as little deſerv'd it, as many of the Heathens who did not ſay ſo well as he did, for I do not think any of them lived worſe: to trace him a little. In the time of the Emperour *Claudius* we find he was baniſh'd for ſuſpition of incontinency with *Julia* the daughter of *Germanicus*. If it be ſaid that this proceeded meerly from the ſpight of *Meſſalina*, (and that *Lipſius* *Sect.* 55. Pag. 43.

did not complement with him in that kind *Apoſtrophe*, *Non expetit in te hæc culpa, O Romani nominis & Sapientiæ magnæ. Sol. Not. in Tacit.*) why then did ſhe not cauſe him to be put to death, as well as ſhe did the other, who was her Husbands Niece? This for certain, what ever his life were, he had *paginam laſcivam*, as may appear by what he hath written, *de Speculorum uſu, l.* 1. *Nat. Qu. cap.* 16. Which (admitting it may in a Poet, yet) how it ſhould be excus'd in a Philoſopher I know not. To look upon him in his exile, we find that then he wrote his Epiſtle *De Conſolat.* to *Polybius*, *Claudius* his creature (as honeſt a man as *Pallas* or *Narciſſus*) and therein he extols him and the Emperour to the Skies; in which he did groſsly prevaricate, and loſt much of his reputation, by ſeeking a diſcharge of his exile by ſo ſordid a means. Upon *Claudius* his marriage with *Agrippina*, he was recall'd from Baniſhment by her means, and made *Prætor*, then he forgets the Emperour, having no need of him, labours all he can to depreſs him, and the hopeful *Britannicus*, and procured his Pupil *Nero* to be adopted and deſign'd ſucceſſor, and the Emperours own Son to be diſinherited; and againſt the Emperour whom he ſo much praiſed when he had need of him, after his death he writes a ſcurrilous Libel. In *Nero's* Court, how ungratefully doth he behave himſelf towards *Agrippina!* who although ſhe were a wicked woman, yet ſhe deſerv'd well of him, and of her ſon too, who yet never was at reſt till he had taken away her life, and upon ſuſpition caſt in againſt her by this man. Afterwards, not to mention that he made great haſt to grow rich, which ſhould not be the buſineſs of a Philoſopher, towards *Nero* himſelf; how well did it become his Philoſophy to play the Traytor againſt him, and to become a complice in the conſpiracy of *Piſo?* and then as good a Tragedian as he was, methinks he doth in *extremo actu deficere*, when he muſt needs perſwade *Paulina*, that excellent Lady his wife, to die with him: what ſhould move him to deſire it? it could in his opinion be no advantage to her, for he believ'd nothing of the immortality of the ſoul; (I am not ſatisfied with the reaſon of *Tacitus*, *Ne ſibi nuice dilectiam ad injurias relinqueret*, becauſe he diſcredits it himſelf, in almoſt the next words, where he ſaith, *Nero* bore her no ill will at all, (and would not ſuffer her to die) it muſt ſurely be then, becauſe he thought he had not liv'd long enough (being not above 114 years old, ſo much he was) and had not the fortitude to die, unleſs he might receive ſome confirmation in it by her example. Now let any man judge what a precious Legacy it is that he bequeaths by his nuncupative will to his friends in *Tacitus*. *Converſus ad amicos* (ſaith he) *quando meritis eorum referre gratiam prohiberetur, quod unum jam tamen & pulcherrimum habebat, imaginem vitæ ſuæ relinquere teſtatur.*

tur. It cannot be denyed of him, that he hath ſaid very well; but yet it muſt as well be affirmed, that his *Practiſe* hath run counter to his Theory, to uſe the Authors phraſe.

The Scepticks *that affirmed they knew nothing.*] The ancient Philoſophers are divided into three ſorts, *Dogmatici*, *Academici*, *Sceptici*; the firſt were thoſe that delivered their opinions poſitively; the ſecond left a liberty of diſputing *pro & contra*; the third declared that there was no knowledge of any thing, no not of this very propoſition, that there is no knowledge, according to that,

——*Nihil ſciri ſiquis putat, id quoq; neſcit An ſciri poſſit, quod ſe nil ſcire fatetur.*

The Duke of Venice *that weds himſelf to the Sea by a Ring of Gold*, &c.] The Duke and Senate yearly on *Aſcenſion-day* uſe to go in their beſt attire to the Haven at *Lio*, and there by throwing a Ring into the water, do take the Sea as their ſpouſe. *Vid. Hiſt. Ital.* by *W. Thomas Cambro-brit. Busbequius* reports that there is a cuſtom amongſt the Turks, which they took from the Greek Prieſts, not much unlike unto this. *Cum Græcorum ſacerdotibus mos ſit certo veris tempore aquas conſecrandi mare clauſum veluti reſerare, ante quod tempus non facile ſe committunt fluctibus; ab ea Ceremonia nec Turcæ abſunt.* Busb. *Ep.* 3. *legat. Turſic.*

But the Philoſopher that threw his money into the Sea, to avoid avarice, &c.] This was *Apollonius Thyaneus*, who threw a great quantity of Gold into the Sea with theſe words, *Peſſundo divitias, ne peſſundare ab illis. Polycrates* the Tyrant of *Samos* caſt the beſt Jewel he had into the Sea, that thereby he might learn to compoſe himſelf againſt the viciſſitude of Fortune.

There go ſo many circumſtances to piece up one good action.] To make an action to be good, all the cauſes that concur muſt be good; but one bad amongſt many good ones, is enough to make it vitious, according to the rule, *Bonum ex cauſa integra, malum ex partiali.*

The vulgarity of thoſe judgements that wrap the Church of God in Strabo's *Cloak, and reſtrain it unto* Europe.] 'Tis *Strabonis tunica* in the tranſlation, but *Chlamydi* would do better, which is the proper expreſſion of the word that *Strabo* uſeth: it is not *Europe*, but the known part of the world that *Strabo* reſembleth to a Cloak, and that is it the Author here alludeth to; but we have no reaſon to think that the reſemblance of *Strabo* is very proper. *Vid. Sir Hen. Savil. in not. ad Tac. in vita Agricolæ.* *Sect.* 56. Pag. 44.

Thoſe who upon a rigid Application of the Law, ſentence Solomon *unto damnation*, &c.] St. *Aug.* upon *Pſal.* 126 and in many other places, holds that *Solomon* is damned; of the ſame opinion is *Lyra*, in 2 *Reg.* c. 7. and *Bellarm.* 1 *Tom. lib.* 1. *Controv.* c. 5. *Sect.* 57. Pag. 45.

THE SECOND PART.

I Wonder not at the French *for their Frogs, Snails and Toad ſtools.*] Toad-ſtools are not peculiar to the *French*; they were a great delicacy among the *Romans*, as appears every where in *Martial*. It was conceived the Emperor *Claudius* received his death by Poyſon, which he took in a Muſhroom *Suet.* and *Tac.* Sect. 1. Pag. 47.

How among ſo many millions of faces, there ſhould be none alike.] It is reported there have been ſome ſo much alike, that they could not be diſtinguiſhed; as King *Antiochus*, and one *Artemon*, a Plebeian of *Syria*, were ſo much alike, that *Laodice*, the Kings widow, by pretending this man was the King, diſſembled the death of the King ſo long, till according to her own mind, a Succeſſor was choſen. *Cn. Pompeius*, and one *Vibius* the Orator; *C. Plancus*, and *Rubrius* the Stage-player; *Caſſius Severus* the Orator, and one *Mirmello*; *M. Meſſala Cenſorius*, and one *Menogenes*, were ſo much alike, that unleſs it were by their habit, they could not be diſtinguiſhed: but this you muſt take upon the Faith of *Pliny*, (*lib.* 7. *c.* 12.) and *Solinus*, (*cap.* 6.) who as this Author tells elſewhere, are Authors not very infallible. Sect. 2. Pag. 49.

What a βατραχομυομαχία *and hot ſkirmiſh is betwixt* S. *and* T. *in Lucian,*] In his *Dialog. judicium vocalium*, where there is a large Oration made to the Vowels, being Judges, by *Sigma* againſt *Tau*, complaining that *Tau* has bereaved him of many words, which ſhould begin with *Sigma*. Sect. 3. Pag. 51.

Their Tongues are ſharper than Actius *his razor.*] *Actius Navius* was chief Augur, who (as the ſtory ſaith) admoniſhing *Tarq. Priſcus* that he ſhould not undertake any action of moment, without firſt conſulting the Augur, the King (ſhewing that he had little faith in his skill) demanded of him, whether by the rules of his skill, what he

he had conceived in his mind might be done: to whom when *Attius* had anſwered it might be done, he bid him take a Whetſtone which he had in his hand, and cut it in two with a Razor; which accordingly the Augur did. *Livy.* And therefore we muſt conceive it was very ſharp. Here the Adage was croſs'd, ξυρὸς εἰς ἀκόνην, i. e. *novacula in cotem. Vid. Eraſm. Chiliad.*

It is not meer Zeal to Learning, or devotion to the Muſes, that wiſer Princes Patronize the Arts, &c. *but a deſire to have their names eterniz'd by the memory of their writings.*] There is a great Scholar, who took the boldneſs to tell a Prince ſo much. *Eſt enim bonorum principum cum viris eruditis tacita quædam naturaliſq; ſocietas, ut alteri ab alteris illuſtrentur, ac dum ſibi mutuò ſuffragantur, & gloria principibus, & doctis authoritas concilietur.* Politian. *Ep. Ludovic. Sfort. quæ extat, lib.* 11. *Ep. ep.* 1. And to this Opinion aſtipulates a Country-man of our own, whoſe words are theſe: *Ignotius eſſet Lucilius, niſi cum Epiſtolæ Senecæ illuſtrarent. Laudibus Cæſareis plus Virgilius & Varus Lucanuſq; adjecerunt, quam immenſum illud ærarium quo urbem & orbem ſpoliavit. Nemo prudentiam Ithaci aut Pelidæ vires agnoſceret, niſi eas Homerus divino publicaſſet ingenio: unde nihil mihi videtur conſultius viro ad gloriam properanti fidelium favore ſcriptorum.* Joan. Sariſb. Polycrat. *l.* 8. *c.* 14. And that Princes are as much beholding to the Poets Pens as their own Swords, *Horace* tells *Cenſorinus* with great confidence. *Od.* 8. *l.* 4. *Non inciſa notis,* &c.

Sect. 4. Pag 52. *St. Paul that calls the* Cretians *lyars, doth it but indirectly, and upon quotation of one of their own Poets.*] That is, *Epimenides*; the place is, *Tit.* 1. *v.* 12. where *Paul* uſeth this verſe, taken out of *Epimenides.*

Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί

It is as bloody a thought in one way, as Nero's *was in another. For by a word we wound a thouſand.*] I ſuppoſe he alludes to that paſſage in *Sueton*, in the life of *Nero*, where he relates that a certain perſon upon a time, ſpoke in his hearing theſe words,

Ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί.

i. e. When I am dead let Earth be mingled with Fire. Whereupon the Emperour uttered theſe words, Ἐμοῦ ζῶντος, *i. e. Yea whilſt I live:* there by one word, he expreſs'd a cruel thought, which I think is the thing he meant; this is more cruel than the wiſh of *Caligula*, that the people of *Rome* had but one Neck, that he might deſtroy them all at a blow.

Sect. 6. Pag. 54. *I cannot believe the ſtory of the* Italian, &c.] It is reported that a certain *Italian* having met with one that had highly provoked him, put a Ponyard to his breaſt, and unleſs he would blaſpheme God, told him he would kill him, which the other doing to ſave his life, the *Italian* preſently kill'd him, to the intent he might be damned, having no time of Repentance.

I

I have no ſins that want a Name.] The Author in *cap. ult. lib. ult. Pſeudodox.* ſpeaking of the Act of carnality exerciſed by the *Egyptian* Pollinctors with the dead carcaſſes, ſaith we want a name for this, wherein neither *Petronius* nor *Martial* can relieve us; therefore I conceive the Author here means a venereal ſin.

This was the Temper of that Lecher that carnal'd with a Statua.] The Latine Annotator upon this hath theſe words: *Romæ refertur de Hiſpano quodam.* But certainly the Author means the Statue of *Venus Gnidia* made by *Praxiteles*, of which a certain young man became ſo enamoured, that *Pliny* relates, *Ferunt amore captum cum delituiſſet noctu ſimulachro conjæſiſſe, ejuſq; cupiditatis eſſe indicem maculum. Lucian* alſo has the ſtory in his *Dialog* [*Amores.*]

And the conſtitution of Nero *in his Spintrian recreations.*] The Author doth not mean the laſt *Nero*, but *Tiberius* the Emperour, whoſe name was *Nero* too; of whom *Sueton. Seceſſu vero Capreenſi etiam ſellariam excogitavit ſedem arcanarum libidinum, in quam undique conquiſiti puellarum & exoletorum greges monſtroſiq; concubitus repertores, quos ſpintrias appellabat, triplici ſerie connexi invicem inceſtarent ſe coram ipſo, ut adſpectu deficientes libidines excitaret.* Suet. *in Tib.* 43.

I have ſeen a Grammariam toure and plume himſelf over a ſingle line in Horace, *and ſhew more pride*, &c.] *Movent mihi ſtomachum Grammatiſtæ quidam, qui cum duas tenuerint vocabulorum origines ita ſe oſtentant, ita venditant, ita circumferunt jactabundi, ut præ ipſis pro nihilo habendos Philoſophos arbitrentur.* Picus Miraud. *in Ep. ad Hermol. Barb. quæ exſtat lib. nono Epiſt. Politian.* Sect. 8. Pag. 56.

Garſio quiſq; duas poſtquam ſcit jungere partes,
Sic ſtat, ſic loquitur, velut omnes noverit artes.

I cannot think that Homer *pin'd away upon the Riddle of the Fiſhermen.*] The Hiſtory out of *Plutarch* is thus: Sailing from *Thebes* to the Iſland *Ion*, being landed and ſet down upon the ſhore, there happen'd certain Fiſhermen to paſs by him, and he asking them what they had taken, they made him this Enigmatical anſwer, That what they had taken, they had left behind them; and what they had not taken, they had with them: meaning, that becauſe they could take no Fiſh, they went to looſe themſelves; and that all which they had taken, they had killed, and left behind them, and all which they had not taken, they had with them in their clothes: and that *Homer* being ſtruck with a deep ſadneſs becauſe he could not interpret this, pin'd away, and at laſt dyed. *Pliny* alludes to this Riddle, in his *Ep.* to his Friend *Fuſcus*, where giving an account of ſpending his time in the Country, he tells him, *Venor aliquando, ſed non ſine pugillaribus, ut quamvis nihil ceperim, non nihil referam.* Plin. *Ep. lib.* 9. *Ep.* 36.

Or

Or that Ariſtot. —— *did ever drown himſelf upon the flux or reflux of* Euripus.] *Laertius* reports that *Ariſtotle* dyed of a diſeaſe at 63 ——years of age. For this and the laſt, ſee the Author in *Pſeudodox.*

Ariſtotle *doth but inſtruct us as* Plato *did him, to confute himſelf.*] In the matter of *Idea's*, Eternity of the world, &c.

Sect. 9. Pag. 57. *I could becontent that we might procreate like trees without conjunction, or that there were any way to perpetuate the world without this trivial and vulgar way of Coition: It is the fooliſheſt act a wiſe man commits in all his life*] There was a Phyſitian long before the Author, that was of the ſame opinion, *Hippocrates*; for which *vide Agel. l.* 19. *Noct. Attic.* c. 2. And ſo of late time was *Paracelſus*, who did undertake to preſcribe a way for the generation of a man without coition. *Vide Campanel. de ſenſu rerum, in Append. ad* cap. 19. l. 4. *Monſieur Montaignes* words on this ſubject, are worth the reading; theſe they are: *Je trouve apres tout, que l' amour n' eſt autre choſe que la faim de cette jouyſſance, & conſiderant maintesfois ridicule titillation de ſe plaiſer par ou il nous tient, les abſurdes movements, eſcervelez & eſtourdis dequoy il agit Zenon & Cratippus, ceſte rage indiſcrete, ce viſage inflamme de fureur & de cruante au plus doux effect de l' amour, & puis cette morgue grave ſevere & extatique en une action ſi folle, & que la ſupreme volupte aye du trainſy & du plaintiff commer la doleur, je croye qu' au ſe joue de nous, & que c' eſt par induſtrie que nature nous a laiſſe la plus trouble de nos actions les plus communes pour nous eſgaller par la & apparier les fols & les ſages: & nous & les beſtes, le plus contemplatif & prudent homme quand je l' imagin en cette aſſiette je le tien pour un affronteur, de faire le prudent & le contemplatif, ceſont les pieds du paon qui abbatent ſon orgueil, nous mangeons bien & beavons comme les beſtes, mais ce ne ſont pas actions, qui empeſchent les operations de noſtro ame, en celleſ-la nous gradons noſtre advantage ſur elles: cettecy met tout autre penſee ſans le joug abrutiſt & abeſiit parſon imperieuſe authorite taute la Theology & Philoſophy, qui eſt en Platon & ſi il ne ſen plaint pas, par tout allieurs vous pouvez garder quelque decence toutes autres operations ſouffrent des Regles d' honeſtete cettecy ne ſe peut ſeulement imaginer que vitieuſe ou ridicule trouvezy pourvoir un proceder ſage & diſcret. Alexander diſoit qu' il ſe cogneſſoit principalement mortel par cette action & par le dormir: le ſommeil ſuffoque & ſupprime les facultez de noſtre ame, la beſoigne les abſorbe & diſſipe de meſme. Certes c' eſt une marque non ſeulement de noſtre corruption originelle, mais auſi de noſtre vanite & diſformite. D'um coſte nature nous y pouſſe ayant attache a ce deſire la plus noble, utile & plaiſante de toutes ſes operations, & la nous laiſſe d' autre part accuſer & juyr comme inſolent & diſhoneſte, en rougir & cecommander l' abſtinence,* &c Montaign *liv.* 3. *chapit.* 5.

And

And may be inverted on the worſt.] That is, that there are none ſo abandoned to vice, but they have ſome ſprinklings of vertue. There are ſcarce any ſo vitious, but commend virtue in thoſe that are endued with it, and do ſome things laudable themſelves, as *Plin.* ſaith in *Panegyric.* *Machiavel* upon *Livy, lib. 1. cap. 27.* ſets down the enſuing relation as a notable confirmation of this truth. *Julius Pontifex, ejus nominis ſecundus, anno ſalutis* 1505. *Bononiam exercitus duxit, ut Bentivolorum familiam, quæ ejus urbis imperium centum jam annos tenuerat, loco moveret. Eademque in expeditione etiam Johannem Pagolum, Bagloneum tyrannum Peruſinum ſua ſede expellere decreverat, ut cæteros item, qui urbes Eccleſiæ per vim tenerent. Ejus rei cauſa cum ad Peruſinam urbem acceſſiſſet, & notum jam omnibus eſſet quid in animo haberet: tamen impatiente morâ, noluit exercitus expectare, ſed inermis quaſi urbem ingreſſus eſt, in quam Johannes Pagolus defendendi ſui cauſa, non exiguas copias contraxerat. Is autem eodem furore, quo res ſuas adminiſtrare ſolebat, unà cum milite, cui cuſtodiam ſui corporis demandarat, ſeſe in pontificis poteſtatem dedidit; à quo abductus eſt relictuſque alius, qui Eccleſiæ nomine urbem gubernaret. Hac ipſa in re magnopere admirati ſunt viri ſapientes, qui Pontificem comitabantur, cum Pontificis ipſius temeritatem, cum abjectum vilemq; Johannes Pagoli animum: nec cauſam intelligebant, ob quam permotus idem Pagolus, hoſtem ſuum inermem (quod illi cum perpetua nominis ſui memoria facere licebat) non ſubito oppreſſerit, & tam pretioſa ſpolia diripuerit; cum Pontifex urbem ingreſſus fuiſſet, Cardinalibus tantum ſuis ſtipatus, qui pretioſiſſimas quaſq; ſuarum rerum ſecum habebant. Neque enim credebatur Pagolus a tanto facinore vel ſua bonitate, vel animi conſcientia abſtinuiſſe: quod in hominem ſceleratum, qui & propria ſorore utebatur, & conſabrinos nepoteſque dominandi cauſa e medio ſuſtulerat huiſmodi pii affectus cadere non viderentur. Cum igitur hac de re variæ eſſent ſapientum virorum ſententiæ; concluſerunt tandem id ei accidiſſe, quod ita comparatum ſit, ut homines neque plane pravi eſſe queant, neque perfecte boni. Pravi perfecte eſſe nequeant, propterea quod, ubi tale quoddam ſcelus eſt, in quo aliquid magnifici ac generoſi inſit, id patrare non audeant. Nam cum Pagolus neq; inceſtum prius horruiſſet, neque patricidio abſtinuiſſet: tamen cum oblata eſſet occaſio, pravi quidem ſed memorabilis, atque æternæ memoriæ facinoris patrandi, id attentare non auſus fuit, cum id ſine infamia preſtare licuiſſet, quod rei magnitudo omnia priora ſcelera obtegere potuiſſet, & a periculo conſervare. Quibus accedit, quod illi gratulati fuiſſent etiam quam plurimi, ſi primus auſus eſſet Pontificibus monſtrare rationem dominandi; totiuſque humanæ vitæ uſum ab illis nimis parvi pendi.* Sect. 10. Pag 59.

Poyſons contain within themſelves their own Antidote.] The Poyſon of a Scorpion is not Poyſon to it ſelf, nor the Poyſon of a Toad is not Poyſon to it ſelf; ſo that the ſucking out of Poyſon from perſons infected by Pſylls, (who are continually nouriſhed with venomous

mous aliment) without any prejudice to themſelves, is the leſs to be wondred at.

The man without a Navil yet lives in me.] The Latine Annotator hath explicated this by *Homo non perfectus*, by which it ſeems he did not comprehend the Authors meaning; for the Author means *Adam*, and by a Metonymie original ſin; for the Navil being onely of uſe to attract the aliment *in utero materno*, and *Adam* having no mother, he had no uſe of a Navil, and therefore it is not to be conceived he had any; and upon that ground the Author calls him the man without a Navil.

Sect. 11. Pag. 61. *Our groſſer memories have then ſo little hold of our abſtracted underſtandings, that they forget the ſtory, and can only relate to our awaked ſenſes a confuſed and broken tale of that that hath paſſed.*] For the moſt part it is ſo. In regard of the Authors expreſſion of forgetting the ſtory, though otherwiſe it be not very pertinent to this place. I ſhall ſet down a relation given by an Engliſh Gentleman, of two dreams that he had, wherein he did not forget the ſtory, but (what is more ſtrange) found his dreams verified. This it is.

Whilſt I lived at *Prague*, and one night had ſit up very late drinking at a feaſt, early in the morning the Sun beams glancing on my face, as I lay in my bed, I dreamed that a ſhadow paſſing by told me that my Father was dead; at which awaking all in a ſweat, and affected with this dream, I roſe and wrote the day and hour, and all circumſtances thereof in a Paper-book, which book with many other things I put into a Barrel, and ſent it from *Prague* to *Stode*, thence to be conveyed into *England*. And now being at *Nurenburgh*, a Merchant of a noble Family well acquainted with me and my friends, arrived there, who told me my Father dyed ſome two months ago. I liſt not to write any lyes, but that which I write, is as true as ſtrange. When I returned into *England* ſome four years after, I would not open the Barrel I ſent from *Prague*, nor look into the Paper-book in which I had written this dream, till I had called my Siſters and ſome friends to be witneſſes, where my ſelf and they were aſtoniſhed to ſee my written dream anſwer the very day of my Fathers death.

I may lawfully ſwear that which my Kinſman hath heard witneſſed by my brother *Henry* whilſt he lived, that in my youth at *Cambridge*, I had the like dream of my Mothers death, where my brother *Henry* living with me, early in the morning I dreamed that my Mother paſſed by with a ſad countenance, and told me that ſhe could not come to my Commencement: I being within five months to proceed Maſter of Arts, and ſhe having promiſed at that time to come to *Cambridge*. And when I related this dream to my brother, both

of

of us awaking together in a ſweat, he proteſted to me that he had dreamed the very ſame; and when we had not the leaſt knowledge of our Mothers ſickneſs, neither in our youthful affections were any whit affected with the ſtrangeneſs of this dream, yet the next Carrier brought us word of our Mothers death. Mr. *Fiennes Moriſon* in his Itinerary. I am not over-credulous of ſuch relations, but methinks the circumſtance of publiſhing it at ſuch a time, when there were thoſe living that might have diſprov'd it, if it had been falſe, is a great argument of the truth of it.

I wonder the fancy of Lucan *and* Seneca *did not diſcover it*] For they had both power from *Nero* to chuſe their deaths. *Sect.* 12. Pag. 61.

To conceive our ſelves Urinals is not ſo ridiculous.]*Reperti ſunt Galeno & Avicenna teſtibus qui ſe vaſa fictilia crederent, & idcirco hominum attactum ne confringerentur ſolicite fugerent.* Pontan. *in Attic. bellar.* (*Hiſt.* 22.) Which proceeds from extremity of Melancholy. *Sect.* 13. Pag. 63.

Ariſtot. *is too ſevere, that will not allow us to be truely liberal without wealth,*] *Ariſtot. l.* 1. *Ethic. c.* 8.

Thy will be done though in mine own undoing] This ſhould be the wiſh of every man, and is of the moſt wiſe and knowing, *Le Chriſtien plus humble & plus ſage & meux recognoiſſant que ce'ſt que de lay ſe rapporte a ſon createur de choiſir & ordonner ce qu' el luy faqt. Il ne le ſupplie dautre choſe que ſa volunte ſoite faite.* Montaign. *Sect.* 15. Pag. 65.

FINIS.

OBSERVATIONS

UPON

RELIGIO MEDICI.

Occasionally Written

By Sr. *Kenelm Digby*, Knight.

The fifth Edition,

Corrected and enlarged.

LONDON,

Printed for *Andrew Crook*, 1672.

OBSERVATIONS

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To the Right Honourable *Edward* Earl of *Dorſet*, Baron of *Buckhurſt*, &c.

My Lord,

I Received yeſternight, your Lordſhips of the nineteenth current, wherein you are pleaſed to oblige me, not only by extream gallant expreſſions of favour and kindneſs, but likewiſe by taking ſo far into your care the expending of my time, during the tediouſneſs of my reſtraint, as to recommend to my reading a *Book*, that had received the honour and ſafeguard of your approbation; for both which I moſt humbly thank your Lordſhip. And ſince I cannot in the way of gratefulneſs expreſs unto your Lordſhip as I would, thoſe hearty ſentiments I have of your goodneſs to me; *I* will at the leaſt endeavour, in the way of *Duty* and *Obſervance*, to let you ſee how the little needle of my Soul is throughly touched at the great Loadſtone of yours, and followeth ſuddenly and ſtrongly, which way ſoever you becken it. *In* this occaſion, the Magnetick motion was impatient to have the *Book* in my hands, that your Lordſhip gave ſo advantagious a Character of; whereupon *I* ſent preſently (as late as it was) to *Pauls* Church-yard, for this *Favourite* of yours, *Religio Medici*: which after a while found me in a condition fit to receive

ceive a Bleſſing by a viſit from any of ſuch Maſter-pieces, as you look upon with gracious eyes; for *I* was newly gotten into my Bed. This good natur'd creature *I* could eaſily perſwade to be my Bed-fellow, and to wake with me, as long as *I* had any edge to entertain my ſelf with the delights *I* ſucked from ſo noble a converſation. And truly (my Lord) *I* cloſed not my eyes, till *I* had enricht my ſelf with, (or at leaſt exactly ſurveyed) all the treaſures that are lapped up in the folds of thoſe few ſheets. To return only a general commendation of this curious Piece, or at large to admire the Authors Spirit and ſmartneſs, were too perfunctory an accompt, and too ſlight an one, to ſo diſcerning and ſteddy an eye as yours, after ſo particular and encharged a Summons to read heedfully this diſcourſe. I will therefore preſume to blot a ſheet or two of Paper with my reflections upon ſundry paſſages through the whole Context of it, as they ſhall occur to my remembrance. Which now your Lordſhip knoweth, this Packet is not ſo happy as to carry with it any one expreſſion of my obſequiouſneſs to you. It will be but reaſonable, you ſhould even here, give over your further trouble of reading, what my reſpect ingageth me to the writing of.

Whoſe firſt ſtep is ingenuity and a well natur'd evenneſs of *Judgment*, ſhall be ſure of applauſe and fair hopes in all men for the reſt of his *Journey*. And indeed (my Lord) me thinketh this Gentleman ſetteth out excellency poiſed with that happy temper; and ſheweth a great deal of *Judicious Piety* in making a right uſe of the blind zeal that *Bigots* looſe themſelves in. Yet I cannot ſatisfie my Doubts throughly, how he maketh good his profeſſing to follow the great Wheel of the Church in matters of *Divinity*; which ſurely is the ſolid *Baſis* of true *Religion*: for to do ſo, without jarring againſt the Conduct of that firſt Mover by Eccentrical and Irregular Motions, obligeth one to yield a very dutiful obedience to the Determinations of it, without arrogating to ones ſelf a controling Ability in liking or miſliking the Faith, Doctrine and Conſtitutions of that *Church* which one looketh upon as their North-Star: *Whereas, if I* miſtake not, this Author approveth the Church of *England*, not abſolutely, but comparatively with other Reformed Churches.

My next Reflexion is, concerning what he hath ſprinkled (moſt wittily) in ſeveral places, concerning the Nature and Immortality of a humane Soul, and the Condition and State it is in, after the diſſolution of the Body. And here give me leave to obſerve what our Country-man *Roger Bacon* did long ago; *That thoſe Students, who buſie themſelves much with ſuch Notions, as reſide wholly to the fantaſie, do hardly ever become Idoneous for abſtracted Metaphyſical Speculations, the one having Bulkie Foundation of Matter, or of the Accidents of it, to ſettle upon, (at the leaſt, with one foot:) The other flying continually, even*

even to a leſſening pitch, in the ſubtil Air. And accordingly, it hath been generally noted, that the exacteſt Mathematicians, who converſe altogether with Lines, Figures, and other Differences of Quantity, have ſeldom proved eminent in Metaphyſicks, or ſpeculative Divinity. Nor again, the Profeſſors of theſe Sciences, in the other Arts. Much leſs can it be expected that an excellent Phyſician, whoſe fancy is always fraught with the material Drugs that he preſcribeth his Apothecary to compound his Medicines of, and whoſe hands are inured to the cutting up, and eyes to the Inſpection of Anatomized Bodies, ſhould eaſily, and with ſucceſs, flie his thoughts at ſo towring a Game, *as a pure Intellect, a ſeparated and unbodied Soul.* Surely this acute *Authors* ſharp wit, had he orderly applied his Studies that way, would have been able to ſatisfie himſelf with leſs labour, and others with more plenitude, then it hath been the Lot of ſo dull a brain, as mine, concerning the *Immortality of the Soul.* And yet, *I* aſſure you (my *Lord*) the little *Philoſophy* that is allowed me for my ſhare, demonſtrateth this Propoſition to me, as well as Faith delivereth it; *which* our *Phyſician* will not admit in his.

To make good this Aſſertion here, were very unreaſonable, ſince that to do it exactly (and without exactneſs, it were not demonſtration) requireth a total Survey of the whole Science of *Bodies*, and of all the operations that we are converſant with, of a rational Creature; which I having done with all the ſuccinctneſs *I* have been able, to explicate ſo knotty a Subject with, hath taken me up in the firſt draught neer two hundred ſheets of Paper. *I* ſhall therefore take leave of this Point, with only this Note, That *I* take the *Immortality of the Soul* (under his favour) to be of that Nature, that to them only that are not verſed in the ways of proving it by Reaſon, it is an Article of Faith; to others, it is an evident Concluſion of demonſtrative Science.

And with a like ſhort Note, *I* ſhall obſerve, how if he had traced the Nature of the *Soul* from its firſt Principles, he could not have ſuſpected it ſhould ſleep in the Grave, till the *Reſurrection* of the Body. Nor would he have permitted his compaſſionative Nature to imagine it belonged to Gods mercy (as the *Chiliaſts* did) to change its condition in thoſe that are damned, from pain to happineſs. For where God ſhould have done that, he muſt have made that anguiſhed Soul another creature than it was (as to make fire ceaſe from being hot, requireth to have it become another thing than the *Element* of fire;) ſince, that to be in ſuch a condition, as maketh us underſtand damned ſouls miſerable, is a neceſſary effect of the temper it is in, when it goeth out of the *Body*, and muſt neceſſarily (out of its Nature) remain in, unvariably for all Eternity; *Though*, for the Conceptions of the vulgar part of Mankind, (who are not capable of ſuch abſtruſe notions) it be ſtyled, (and truly too) the ſentence and puniſhment of a ſevere *Judg.*

I am extreamly pleased with him, when he saith, There are not *Impossibilities* enough in *Religion* for an Active Faith: And no whit less, when in *Philosophy* he will not be satisfied with such naked terms, as in *Schools* use to be obtruded upon easie minds, when the *Masters* fingers are not strong enough to unty the Knots proposed unto them. I confess, when I enquire what Light (to use our Authors example) is, I should be as well contented with his silence, as with his telling me it is *actus perspicuus*; unless he explicate clearly to me, what those words mean, which I find very few go about to do. Such meat they swallow whole, and eject it as entire. But were such things Scientifically and Methodically declared, they would be of extream satisfaction and delight. And that work taketh up the greatest part of my formerly-mentioned Treatise. For I endeavour to shew by a continued Progress, and not by Leaps, all the Motions of Nature; and unto them to fit intelligibly the terms used by her best Secretaries; whereby all wild fantastick Qualities and Moods (introduced for refuges of ignorance) are banished from Commerce.

In the next place (my *Lord*) I shall suspect that our Author hath not penetrated into the bottom of those Conceptions, that deep Scholars have taught us of *Eternity*; Methinketh he taketh it for an infinite Extention of time, and a never ending Revolution of continual Succession: which is no more like *Eternity*, than a gross body is like a pure *Spirit*. Nay, such an Infinity of Revolutions, is demonstrable to be a Contradiction, and impossible. In the state of *Eternity* there is no Succession, no Change, no Variety. *Souls* or *Angels*, in that condition, do not so much as change a thought. All things, notions and actions, that ever were, are, or shall be in any creature, are actually present to such an Intellect. And this (my *Lord*) I aver, not as deriving it from *Theologie*, and having recourse to beatifick Vision, to make good my Tenet, (for so, only glorified creatures should enjoy such immense knowledge;) but out of the principles of *Nature* and *Reason*, and from thence shall demonstrate it to belong to the lowest *Soul* of the ignorantest wretch, whilst he lived in this world, since damned in *Hell*. A bold undertaking, you will say. But I confidently engage my self to it. Upon this occasion occurreth also a great deal to be said of the Nature of *Predestination* (which by the short touches our Author giveth of it, I doubt he quite mistakes) and how it is an unalterable *Series* and *Chain of Causes*, producing *Infallible* (and in respect of them, necessary) Effects. But that is too large a *Theam* to unfold here; too vast an *Ocean* to describe, in the scant Map of a Letter. And therefore I will refer that to a fitter opportunity, fearing I have already too much trespassed upon your Lordships patience; but that indeed, I hope, you have not had enough to read thus far.

I am ſure, my *Lord*, that you (who never forgot any thing, which deſerved a room in your Memory) do remember how we are told, that *Abyſſus abyſſum invocat*: So here our Author, from the Abyſs of *Predeſtination*, falleth into that of the *Trinity* of *Perſons*, conſiſtent with the Indiviſibility of the Divine Nature: And out of that (if I be not exceedingly deceived) into a third of miſtaking, when he goeth about to illuſtrate this admirable Myſtery by a wild Diſcourſe of a *Trinity* in our *Souls*. The dint of Wit is not forcible enough to diſſect ſuch tough Matter; wherein all the obſcure glimmering we gain of that inacceſſible Light, cometh to us cloathed in the dark weeds of Negations, and therefore little can we hope to meet with any poſitive Examples to parallel it withal.

I doubt, he alſo miſtaketh, and impoſeth upon the ſeveral *Schools*, when he intimateth, that they gainſay this viſible worlds being but a Picture or Shadow of the Inviſible and Intellectual: which manner of *Philoſophizing*, he attributeth to *Hermes Triſmegiſtus*; but is every where to be met with in *Plato*; and is raiſed ſince to a greater height in the Chriſtian Schools.

But I am ſure he learned in no good School, nor ſucked from any good *Philoſophy* to give an actual Subſiſtence and being to firſt Matter without a Form. He that will allow that a *Real Exiſtence* in Nature is as ſuperficially tincted in *Metaphyſicks*, as another would be in *Mathematicks*, that ſhould allow the like to a Point, a Line, or a Superficies in Figures; Theſe, in their ſtrict Notions, are but Negations of further Extenſion, or but exact Terminations of that Quantity, which falleth under the Conſideration of the Underſtanding, in the preſent purpoſe; no real Entities in themſelves: ſo likewiſe, the Notions of Matter, Form, Act, Power, Exiſtence, and the like, that are with Truth conſidered by the Underſtanding, and have there each of them a diſtinct Entity, are nevertheleſs, no where by themſelves in Nature. They are terms which we muſt uſe in the negotiations of our thoughts, if we will diſcourſe conſequently, and conclude knowingly. But then again, we muſt be very wary of attributing to things in their own Natures, ſuch Entities as we create in our Underſtandings, when we make Pictures of them there; for there every different conſideration, ariſing out of the different impreſſion which the ſame thing maketh upon us, hath a diſtinct Being by it ſelf: *Whereas* in the thing, there is but one ſingle *Unity*, that ſheweth (as it were in a Glaſs at ſeveral Poſitions) thoſe various faces in our Underſtanding. In a word, all theſe words are but artificial terms, not real things. And the not right underſtanding of them, is the dangerouſeſt Rock that *Scholars* ſuffer ſhipwrack againſt.

I go on with our *Phyſicians* Contemplations. Upon every occaſion, he ſheweth ſtrong parts, and a vigorous brain. His wiſhes and aims,

and what he pointeth at, ſpeak him owner of a noble and a generous heart. He hath reaſon to wiſh that *Ariſtotle* had been as accurate in examining the Cauſes, Nature and Affections of the great Univerſe he buſied himſelf about, as his Patriarch *Galen* hath been in the like conſiderations upon this little *World*, Mans Body, in that admirable Work of his *De Uſu Partium*. But no great humane thing was ever born and perfected at once. It may ſatisfie us, if one in our age, buildeth that magnificent Structure upon the others foundations; and eſpecially, if where he findeth any of them unſound, he eradicateth thoſe, and fixeth new unqueſtionable ones in their room: But ſo, as they ſtill, in groſs, keep a proportion, and bear a *Harmony* with the other great Work. This hath now (even now) our learned Countryman done; The knowing Mr. *White*, (whoſe name, I believe your Lordſhip hath met withal) in his excellent Book, *De Mundo*, newly printed at *Paris*, where he now reſideth, and is admired by the World of Letter'd men there, as the *Prodigie* of theſe latter times. Indeed his three *Dialogues* upon that Subject, (if I am able to judge any thing) are full of the profoundeſt Learning I ever yet met withal. And I believe, who hath well read and digeſted them, will perſwade himſelf, there is no truth ſo abſtruſe, nor hitherto conceived out of our reach, but mans wit may raiſe Engines to ſcale and conquer. *I* aſſure my ſelf, when our Author hath ſtudied him throughly, he will not lament ſo loud for *Ariſtotles* mutilated and defective *Philoſophy*, as in *Boccaline Caſar Caporali* doth for the loſs of *Livies* ſhipwracked *Decads*.

That *Logick* which he quarrelleth at, for calling a *Toad*, or *Serpent* ugly, will in the end agree with his; for no body ever took them to be ſo, in reſpect of the *Univerſe*, (in which regard, he defendeth their Regularity and Symmetry) but onely as they have relation to us.

But I cannot ſo eaſily agree with him, when he affirmeth, that *Devils*, or other *Spirits* in the Intellectual World, have no exact *Ephemerides*, wherein they may read before-hand the Stories of fortuite Accidents. For I believe, that all Cauſes are ſo immediately chained to their effects, as if a perfect knowing Nature get hold but of one link, it will drive the entire *Series*, or Pedigree of the whole, to its utmoſt end; (as I think I have proved in my fore-named Treatiſe) ſo that in truth, there is no Fortuitneſs or Contingency of things, in reſpect of themſelves, but only in reſpect of us, that are ignorant of their certain and neceſſary Cauſes.

Now a little *Series* or Chain and Complex of all outward Circumſtances, (whoſe higheſt Link, *Poets* ſay prettily is faſtned to *Jupiters* Chair, and the loweſt is rivetted to every Individual on earth) ſteered and levelled by *God Almighty*, at the firſt ſetting out of the firſt Mover,

I conceive, to be that *Divine Providence* and *Mercy*, which (to uſe our Authors own example) giveth a thriving *Genius* to the *Hollanders*, and the like: And not any ſecret, inviſible, myſtical Bleſſing, that falleth not under the ſearch or cognizance of a prudent indagation.

I muſt needs approve our Authors Æquanimity, and I may as juſtly ſay his Magnanimity, in being contented ſo cheerfully (as he ſaith) to ſhake hands with the fading *Goods* of *Fortune*, and be deprived of the joys of her moſt precious bleſſings; ſo that he may in recompence poſſeſs in ample meaſure the true ones of the mind; like *Epictetus*, that Maſter of moral Wiſdom and Piety, who taxeth them of high injuſtice, that repine at Gods Diſtribution of his Bleſſings, when he putteth not into their ſhare of goods, ſuch things as they uſe no Induſtry or Means to purchaſe. For why ſhould that man, who above all things eſteemeth his own freedom, and who to enjoy that, ſequeſtreth himſelf from commerce with the vulgar of mankind, take it ill of his *Stars*, if ſuch Preferments, Honours, and Applauſes meet not him, as are painfully gained, after long and tedious Services of *Princes*, and brittle Dependances of humorous Favourites, and ſupple Compliances with all ſorts of Natures? As for what he ſaith of *Aſtrologie*; I do not conceive, that wiſe men reject it ſo much for being repugnant to *Divinity* (which he reconcileth well enough) as for having no ſolid Rules or ground in Nature. To relie too far upon that vain Art, I judg to be rather folly than impiety, unleſs in our cenſure we look to the firſt *Origine* of it, which ſavoureth of the Idolatry of thoſe *Heathens*, that worſhipping the *Stars* and heavenly Bodies for *Deities*, did in a ſuperſtitious Devotion, attribute unto them the Cauſality of all Effects beneath them. And for ought I know, the belief of ſolid *Orbs* in the Heavens, and their regularly-irregular Motions, ſprung from the ſame root. And alike Inanity, I ſhould ſuſpect in *Chiromancy*, as well as *Aſtrologie*, (eſpecially, in particular contingent Effects) however our *Author*, and no leſs a man than *Ariſtotle*, ſeem to attribute ſomewhat more to that conjectural Art of *Lines*.

I ſhould much doubt (though our Author ſheweth himſelf of another mind) that *Bernardinus Ochinus* grew at the laſt to be a meer *Atheiſt*: When after having been firſt the Inſtitutor and *Patriarch* of the *Capucine Order* (ſo violent was his zeal then, as no former religious Inſtitution, though never ſo rigorous, was ſtrict enough for him) he from thence fell to be firſt an *Heretick*, then a *Jew*, and after a while became a *Turk*; and at the laſt wrote a furious Invective againſt thoſe, whom he called the three *Grand Impoſtors* of the *World*, among whom he ranked our Saviour *Chriſt*, as well as *Moſes* and *Mahomet*.

This Story I have but upon relation, yet of a very good hand.

I doubt he miſtakes in his *Chronologie*, or the Printer in the name, when he maketh *Ptolomy* condemn the *Alcoran*.

He

He needeth not be ſo ſcrupulous, as he ſeemeth to be, in averring down rightly, That God cannot do contradictory things, (though peradventure it is not amiſs to ſweeten the manner of the expreſſion, and the ſound of the words) for who underſtandeth the nature of contradiction, will find *Non Entity* in one of the terms, which of *God* were impiety not to deny peremptorily. For he being in his proper nature *Self-Entity*, all *Being* muſt immediately flow from him, and all *Not-Being* be totally excluded from that Efflux. Now for the recalling of *Time* paſt, which the *Angels* poſed *Eſdras* withal; there is no contradiction in that, as is evident to them that know the eſſence of Time. For it is but putting again, all things that had motion, into the ſame ſtate they were in, at that moment unto which time was to be reduced back, and from thence letting it travel on again by the ſame motion, and upon the ſame wheels it rouled upon before. And therefore God could do this admirable Work, though neither *Eſdras*, nor all the power of Creatures together could do it: And conſequently it cannot in this Queſtion be ſaid, that he poſed Mortality with what himſelf was not able to perform.

I acknowledge ingenuouſly, our *Phyſicians* experience hath the advantage of my *Philoſophy*, in knowing there are Witches. Yet *I* am ſure, I have no temptation to doubt of the *Deity*; nor have any unſatisfaction in believing there are *Spirits*. I do not ſee ſuch a neceſſary conjunction between them, as that the ſuppoſition of the one muſt needs infer the other. Neither do I deny there are Witches. I only reſerve my Aſſent, till I meet with ſtronger motives to carry it. And I confeſs I doubt as much of the efficacy of thoſe Magical Rules he ſpeaketh of, as alſo of the finding out of Myſteries by the courteous *Revelation of Spirits*.

I doubt his Diſcourſe of an *Univerſal Spirit*, is but a wild Fancy: and that in the marſhalling of it, he miſtaketh the *Hermetical Philoſophers*. And ſurely, it is a weak argument from a common nature, that ſubſiſteth only in our underſtanding (out of which it hath no Being at all) to infer by parity, an actual Subſiſtence, or the like, in reality of nature (of which kind of miſcarriage in mens diſcourſings, I have ſpoken before.) And upon this occaſion, I do not ſee how ſeaſonably he falleth of a ſudden from natural Speculations, to a Moral Contemplation of *Gods Spirit* working in us. In which alſo I would enquire (eſpecially upon his ſudden Poetical rapture) whether the Solidity of the *Judgment* be not outweighed by the airineſs of the Fancy. *Aſſuredly* one cannot err in taking this *Author* for a very fine ingenious *Gentleman*: But for how deep a *Scholar*, I leave unto them to judg, that are abler than I am.

It he had applied himſelf with earneſt ſtudy, and upon right grounds, to ſearch out the Nature of pure Intellects; I doubt not but his

his great Parts would have argued more efficaciouſly, than he doth againſt thoſe, that between *Men* and *Angels*, put only *Porphyries* difference of *Mortality* and *Immortality*. And he would have dived further into the tenour of their Intellectual Operations; in which there is no Succeſſion, nor ratiocinative Diſcourſe; for in the very firſt inſtant of their Creation, they actually knew all that they were capable of knowing, and they are acquainted even with all free thoughts, paſt, preſent, and to come; for they ſee them in their cauſes, and they ſee them all together at one inſtant; as I have in my fore-mentioned Treatiſe proved at *large*: And I think I have already touched thus much once before in this *Letter*.

I am tempted here to ſay a great deal concerning *Light*, by his taking it to be a bare Quality. For in *Phyſicks*, no Speculation is more uſeful, or reacheth further. But to ſet down ſuch *Phænomena*'s of it, as I have obſerved, and from whence I evidently collect the Nature of it, were too large a *Theam* for this place: When your Lordſhip pleaſeth, *I* ſhall ſhew you another more orderly Diſcourſe upon that Subject, wherein *I* have ſufficiently proved it to be a ſolid Subſtance and Body.

In his proceeding to collect an Intellectual World, and in his diſcourſing upon the place and habitation of *Angels*; as alſo in his conſideration of the activity of glorified Eyes, which ſhall be in the ſtate of reſt, whereas motion is required to ſeeing; and in his ſubtil Speculation upon two Bodies, placed in the Vacuity, beyond the utmoſt all-encloſing Superficie of *Heaven* (which implieth a Contradiction in Nature) methinks *I* hear *Apelles* cry out, *Ne ſutor ultra Crepidam*: or rather, it putteth me in mind of one of the Titles in *Pantagruels* Library, (which he expreſſeth himſelf converſant in) namely, *Queſtio ſubtiliſſima, utrum Chimæra in vacuo bombinans poſſit comedere ſecundas intentiones*; with which ſhort Note *I* will leave theſe Conſiderations; in which, (if time, and other circumſtances allowed it) matter would ſpring up of excellent *Learning*.

When our Author ſhall have read *Mr. Whites* Dialogue of the *World*, he will no longer be of the Opinion, That the Unity of the world is a concluſion of Faith: For it is there demonſtrated by *Reaſon*.

Here the thread of the Diſcourſe inviteth me to ſay a great deal of the Production or Creation of *Mans Soul*. But it is too tedious, and too knotty a piece for a *Letter*. Now it ſhall ſuffice to note, that it is not *Ex traduce* and yet hath a ſtrange kind of neer dependance on the Body, which is, as it were, Gods inſtrument to create it by. This thus ſaid, or rather tumbled out, may ſeem harſh. But had your Lordſhip leiſure to peruſe what *I* have written at full upon this Point, *I* doubt not but it would appear plauſible enough to you.

I cannot agree with him, when he ſeemeth to impute Inconvenience to *long Life*, and that length of time doth rather impair, than improve us: For ſurely if we follow the courſe of Nature, and of Reaſon, it is a mighty great bleſſing; were it but in this regard, that it giveth time leave to vent and boyl away the unquietneſſes and turbulencies that follow our paſſions, and to wean our ſelves gently from carnal affections, and at the laſt to drop with eaſe and willingneſs, like ripe fruit from the *Tree*; as I remember *Plotinus* finely diſcourſeth in one of his *Eneads*. For when before the Seaſon, it is plucked off with violent hands, or ſhaken down by rude and boyſterous winds, it carrieth along with it an indigeſted raw taſte of the Wood, and hath an unpleaſant aigerneſs in its juice, that maketh it unfit for uſe, till long time hath mellowed it: And peradventure it may be ſo backward, as inſtead of ripening, it may grow rotten in the very *Center*. In like manner, *Souls* that go out of their *Bodies* with affection to thoſe Objects they leave behind them, (which uſually is as long as they can reliſh them) do retain ſtill even in their Separation, a byas, and a languiſhing towards them: which is the reaſon why ſuch terrene Souls appear oftneſt in *Cœmeteries* and *Charnel-houſes*, and not that moral one, which our Author giveth. For *Life*, which is union with the Body, being that which carnal Souls have ſtraighteſt affection to, and that they are loatheſt to be ſeparated from; their unquiet *Spirit*, which can never (naturally) loſe the impreſſions it had wrought in it at the time of its driving out, lingereth perpetually after that dear Conſort of his. The impoſſibility cannot cure them of their impotent deſires; they would fain be alive again,

——— *Iterumque ad trada reverti*
Corpora. Quæ lucis miſeris tam dira cupido.

And to this cauſe peradventure may be reduced the ſtrange effect, which is frequently ſeen in *England*, when at the approach of the *Murderer*, the ſlain body ſuddenly bleedeth afreſh. For certainly, the Souls of them that are treacherouſly murdered by ſurprize, uſe to leave their Bodies with extream unwillingneſs, and with vehement indignation againſt them, that force them to ſo unprovided and abhorred a paſſage. That Soul then, to wreak its evil talent againſt the hated Murderer, and to draw a juſt and deſired revenge upon his head, would do all it can to manifeſt the Author of the fact. To ſpeak it cannot, for in it ſelf it wanteth *Organs* of voice; and thoſe it is parted from, are now grown too heavy, and are too benummed for it to give motion unto. Yet ſome change it deſireth to make in the body, which it hath ſo vehement inclinations to, and therefore is the apteſt for it to work upon: It muſt then endeavour to cauſe a motion in the ſubtileſt

ſubtileſt and moſt fluid parts (and conſequently, the moſt moveable ones) of it. This can be nothing but the blood, which then being violently moved, muſt needs guſh out at thoſe places where it findeth Iſſues.

Our Author cannot believe, that the world will periſh upon the ruines of its own principles. But Mr. *White* hath demonſtrated the end of it upon natural Reaſon. And though the preciſe time for that general Deſtruction be inſcrutable; yet he learnedly ſheweth an ingenious Rule, whereby to meaſure in ſome ſort the duration of it, without being branded (as our Author threatneth) with convincible and *Statute*-madneſs, or with impiety. And whereas he will have the work of this laſt great Day (the Summer up of all paſt days) to imply annihilation, and thereupon intereſſeth God only in it: I muſt beg leave to contradict him, namely in this point; and to affirm, that the letting looſe then of the activeſt Element, to deſtroy this face of the World, will but beget a change in it; and that no annihilation can proceed from God Almighty: For his Eſſence being (as I ſaid before) ſelf-exiſtence, it is more impoſſible that Not-being ſhould flow from him, than that cold ſhould flow immediately from fire, or darkneſs from the actual preſence of light.

I muſt needs acknowledge, that where he ballanceth Life and Death againſt one another, and conſidereth that the latter is to be a kind of nothing for a moment, to become a pure *Spirit* within one inſtant, and what followeth of this ſtrong thought, is extream handſomly ſaid, and argueth very gallant and generous Reſolutions in him.

To exemplifie the *Immortality of the Soul*, he needeth not have recourſe to the *Philoſophers*-ſtone. His own ſtore furniſheth him with a moſt pregnant one of reviving a Plant (the ſame numerical Plant) out of his own aſhes. But under his favour, I believe his experiment will fail, if under the notion of the ſame, he comprehendeth all the Accidents that firſt accompanied that Plant; for ſince in the aſhes there remaineth only the fixed Salt, I am very confident, that all the colour, and much of the odour and Taſte of it, is flown away with the Volatile Salt.

What ſhould I ſay of his making ſo particular a Narration of perſonal things, and private thoughts of his own; the knowledg whereof cannot much conduce to any mans betterment? (which *I* make account is the chief end of his writing this Diſcourſe) As where he ſpeaketh of the ſoundneſs of his Body, of the courſe of his Diet, of the coolneſs of his Blood at the Summer-Solſtice of his age, of his neglect of an *Epitaph*; how long he hath lived, or may live; what *Popes*, *Emperours*, *Kings*, *Grand-Seigniors*, he hath been Contemporary unto, and the like: Would it not be thought that he hath a ſpecial good opinion of himſelf, (and indeed he hath reaſon) when he ma-

keth ſuch great Princes the Landmarks in the Chronology of himſelf? Surely, if he were to write by retale the particulars of his own Story and Life, it would be a notable *Romance*, ſince he telleth us in one total Sum, it is a continued Miracle of thirty years. Though he creepeth gently upon us at the firſt, yet he groweth a *Gyant*, an *Atlas* (to uſe his own expreſſion) at the laſt. But I will not cenſure him, as he that made Notes upon *Balſac*'s Letters, and was angry with him for vexing his Readers with Stories of his *Cholicks*, and voiding of Gravel. I leave this kind of expreſſions, without looking further into them.

In the next place (my *Lord*) I ſhall take occaſion from our Authors ſetting ſo main a difference between moral Honeſty and Vertue, or being vertuous (to uſe his own phraſe) out of an inbred loyalty to Vertue; and on the other ſide, being vertuous for a rewards ſake; to diſcourſe a little concerning *Vertue* in this life, and the effects of it afterwards. Truly (my *Lord*) however he ſeemeth to prefer this latter, I cannot but value the other much before it, if we regard the nobleneſs and heroickneſs of the nature and mind from whence they both proceed: And if we conſider the Journeys end, to which each of them carrieth us, I am confident the firſt yieldeth nothing to the ſecond, but indeed both meet in the period of Beatitude. To clear this point (which is very well worth the wiſeſt mans ſerioueſt thought) we muſt conſider, what it is that bringeth us to this excellent State, to be happy in the other world of Eternity and Immutability. It is agreed on all hands to be Gods Grace and Favour to us: But all do not agree by what ſteps his grace produceth this effect. Herein I ſhall not trouble your Lordſhip with a long Diſcourſe, how that grace worketh in us, (which yet I will in a word touch anon, that you may conceive what I underſtand grace to be) but will ſuppoſe it to have wrought its effect in us in this life, and from thence examine what hinges they are that turn us over to *Beatitude* and *Glory* in the next. Some conſider God as a Judg, that rewardeth or puniſheth men, according as they co-operated with, or repugned to, the grace he gave. That according as their actions pleaſe or diſpleaſe him, he is well affected towards them, or angry with them; and accordingly maketh them, to the purpoſe, and very home, feel the effects of his kindneſs or indignation. Others that flie a higher pitch, and are ſo happy,

——*Ut rerum poterint cognoſcere cauſas,*

do conceive that Beatitude and miſery in the other life, are effects that neceſſarily and orderly flow out of the Nature of thoſe Cauſes that begot them in this life, without engaging God Almighty to give

give a ſentence, and act the part of a Judg, according to the ſtate of our Cauſe, as it ſhall appear upon the Accuſations and pleadings at his great *Bar*. Much of which manner of expreſſion, is Metaphorical, and rather adapted to contain vulgar minds in their Duties (that are awed with the thought of a ſevere Judg, ſifting every minute action of theirs) than ſuch as we muſt conceive every circumſtance to paſs ſo in reality, as the literal ſound of the words ſeems to infer in ordinary conſtruction: (and yet all that is true too, in its genuine ſence.) But, my *Lord*, theſe more penetrating men, and that, I conceive, are vertuous upon higher and ſtronger Motives (for they truly and ſolidly know, why they are ſo) do conſider, that what impreſſions are once made in the ſpiritual Subſtance of a Soul, and what affections it hath once contracted, do ever remain in it, till a contrary and diametrally contradicting judgment and affection, do obliterate it, and expel it thence. This is the reaſon why *Contrition*, *Sorrow*, and *hatred* for *Sins* paſt, is encharged us. If then the *Soul* do go out of the Body with impreſſions and affections to the Objects and pleaſures of this life, it continually lingreth after them; and as *Virgil* (learnedly, as well as wittily) ſaith,

——*Quæ gratia currum,*
Armorumque fuit vivis, quæ cura nitentes
Paſcere equos, eadem ſequitur tellure repoſtos.

But that being a State wherein thoſe Objects neither are, nor can be enjoyed, it muſt needs follow, that ſuch a Soul muſt be in an exceeding anguiſh, ſorrow and affliction, for being deprived of them; and for want of that it ſo much prizeth, will neglect all other contentments it might have, as not having a reliſh or taſte moulded and prepared to the ſavouring of them; but like ſeaviſh tongues, that when they are even ſcorched with heat, take no delight in the pleaſingeſt liquors, but the ſweeteſt drinks ſeem bitter to them, by reaſon of their overflowing Gall: So they even hate whatſoever good is in their power, and thus pine away a long Eternity. *In* which the ſharpneſs and activity of their pain, anguiſh, and ſad condition, is to be meaſured by the ſenſibleneſs of their Natures: which being then ſpiritual, is in a manner infinitely more than any torment that in this life can be inflicted upon a dull groſs body. To this add, the vexation it muſt be to them, to ſee how ineſtimable and infinite a good they have loſt; and loſt meerly by their own fault, and for momentary trifles, and childrens play; and that it was ſo eaſie for them to have gained it, had they remained but in their right ſenſes, and governed themſelves according unto *Reaſon*. And then judg in what a tortured condition they muſt be, of remorſe and execrating themſelves

ſelves for their moſt reſupine and ſenſleſs madneſs. But if on the other ſide, a Soul be releaſed out of this *Priſon* of clay and fleſh, with affections ſetled upon *Intellectual* goods, as *Truth*, *Knowledg*, and the like; and that it be grown to an irkſome diſlike of the flat pleaſures of this World; and look upon carnal and ſenſual Objects with a diſdainful eye, as diſcerning the contemptible *Inanity* in them, that is ſet off only by their painted outſide; and above all, that it hath a longing deſire to be in the Society of that ſupereminent Cauſe of Cauſes, in which they know are heaped up the *Treaſures* of all *Beauty*, *Knowledg*, *Truth*, *Delight*, and good whatſoever; and therefore are impatient at the *Delay*, and reckon all their Abſence from him as a tedious Baniſhment; and in that regard hate their Life and *Body*, as cauſe of this Divorce: ſuch a Soul, *I* ſay, muſt neceſſarily, by reaſon of the temper it is wrought into, enjoy immediately at the inſtant of the *Bodies* diſſolution, and its liberty, more Contentment, more Joy, more true Happineſs, than it is poſſible for a heart of fleſh to have ſcarce any ſcantling of, much leſs to comprehend.

For immenſe Knowledg is natural to it, as I have touched before. *Truth*, which is the adequated and ſatisfying Object of the Underſtanding, is there diſplayed in her own Colours, or rather without any.

And that which is the *Crown* of all, and in reſpect of which all the reſt is nothing; that infinite Entity, which above all things this Soul thirſteth to be united unto, cannot for his own Goodneſs ſake, deny his Embraces to ſo affectionate a *Creature*, and to ſuch an enflamed Love. If he ſhould, then were that Soul, for being the beſt, and for loving him moſt, condemned to be the unhappieſt. *For* what Joy could ſhe have in any thing, were ſhe barred from what ſhe ſo infinitely loveth? But ſince the Nature of ſuperiour and excellent things is to ſhower down their propitious *Influences*, whereſoever there is a Capacity of receiving them, and no Obſtacle to keep them out (like the Sun that illuminateth the whole Air, if no Cloud, or ſolid opacous *Body* intervene) it followeth clearly, that this infinite Sun of Juſtice, this immenſe Ocean of goodneſs, cannot chuſe but inviron with his *Beams*, and repleniſh even beyond Satiety with his delightſome Waters, a ſoul ſo prepared and tempered to receive them.

Now (*my Lord*) to make uſe of this Diſcourſe, and apply it to what begot it; be pleaſed to determine, which way will deliver us eveneſt and ſmootheſt to this happy end of our *Journey*: To be vertuous for hope of a Reward, and through fear of Puniſhment; or to be ſo out of a natural and inward affection to *Vertue*, for *Vertues* and *Reaſons* ſake? Surely one in this latter condition, not only doth thoſe things which will bring him to *Beatitude*; but he is ſo ſecured, in a manner

manner, under an Armour of *Proof*, that he is almoſt invulnerable; he can ſcarce miſcarry, he hath not ſo much as an inclination to work contrarily; the Alluring Baits of this *World* tempt him not; he diſliketh, he hateth, even his neceſſary Commerce with them whilſt he liveth. On the other ſide, the Hireling that ſteereth his courſe by his Reward and Puniſhment, doth well, *I* confeſs; but he doth it with Reluctance; he carrieth the *Ark*, Gods Image, his Soul, ſafely home, it is true, but he loweth pitifully after his Calves, that he leaveth behind him among the *Philiſtines*. In a word, he is *vertuous*; but if he might ſafely, he would do *vicious* things. (And hence be the ground in Nature, if ſo I might ſay, of our *Purgatory*.) Methinks two ſuch minds may not unfitly be compared to two Maids, whereof one hath a little ſprinkling of the Green ſickneſs, and hath more mind to *Aſhes*, *Chalk* or *Leather*, than meats of ſolid and good nouriſhment, but forbeareth them, knowing the languiſhing condition of *Health* it will bring her to: But the other having a ruddy, vigorous and perfect Conſtitution, and enjoying a compleat, entire *Eneraſie*, delights in no food but of good nouriture, and loaths the other Delights. *Her Health* is diſcovered in her looks, and ſhe is ſecure from any danger of that Malady, whereas the other for all her good Diet, beareth in her Complexion ſome ſickly Teſtimony of her depraved Appetite; and if ſhe be not very *wary*, ſhe is in danger of a relapſe.

It falleth fit in this place to examine our Authors apprehenſion of the end of ſuch honeſt *Worthies* and *Philoſophers* (as he calleth them) that died before *Chriſt* his Incarnation, Whether any of them could be ſaved, or no? Truly, my *Lord*, *I* make no doubt at all, but if any followed in the whole *Tenor* of their lives, the Dictamens of right *Reaſon*, but that their journey was ſecure to *Heaven*. Out of the former Diſcourſe appeareth what temper of mind is neceſſary to get thither. *And*, that *Reaſon* would dictate ſuch a temper to a perfectly judicious man, (though but in the ſtate of *Nature*) as the beſt and moſt rational for him, I make no doubt at all. But it is moſt true, they are exceeding few (if any) in whom *Reaſon* worketh clearly, and is not overſwayed by *Paſſion* and terrene *Affections*, they are few that can diſcern what is reaſonable to be done in every Circumſtance.

——Pauci quos æquus amavit
Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad æthera virtus,
Dîis geniti, potuere.——

And fewer, that knowing what is beſt, can win of themſelves to do accordingly; (*Video meliora proboque, deteriora ſequor*, being moſt mens caſes) ſo that after all that can be expected at the hands of Nature.

Nature and Reaſon in their beſt Habit, ſince the lapſe of them, we may conclude it would have been a moſt difficult thing for any man, and a moſt impoſſible one for mankind, to attain unto *Beatitude*, if *Chriſt* had not come to teach, and by his example to ſhew us the way.

And this was the *Reaſon* of his Incarnation, teaching Life and Death: For being God, we could not doubt his Veracity, when he told us news of the other world; having all things in his power, and yet enjoying none of the Delights of this Life, no man ſhould ſtick at foregoing them, ſince his Example ſheweth all men, that ſuch a courſe is beſt; whereas few are capable of the *Reaſon* of it: And for this laſt Act, dying in ſuch an afflicted manner; he taught us how the ſecureſt way to ſtep immediately into perfect Happineſs, is to be crucified to all the Deſires, Delights and Contentments of this *World*.

But to come back to our *Phyſician*: Truly (my *Lord*) I muſt needs pay him, as a due, the acknowledging his pious Diſcourſes to be Excellent and Pathetical ones, containing worthy Motives, to incite one to Vertue, and to deter one from Vice; thereby to gain *Heaven*, and to avoid *Hell*. Aſſuredly he is owner of a ſolid Head, and of a ſtrong generous Heart. Where he imployeth his thoughts upon ſuch things, as reſort to no higher, or more abſtruſe *Principles*, than ſuch as occur in ordinary Converſation with the World, or in the common Tract of Study and Learning; I know no man would ſay better. But when he meeteth with ſuch difficulties as his next, concerning the *Reſurrection of the Body*, (wherein after deep Meditation, upon the moſt abſtracted Principles and Speculations of the *Metaphyſicks*, one hath much ado to ſolve the appearing Contradictions in *Nature*) *There*, I do not at all wonder, he ſhould tread a little awry, and go aſtray in the dark, for I conceive his courſe of life hath not permitted him to allow much time unto the unwinding of ſuch entangled and abſtracted Subtilties. But if it had, I believe his Natural parts are ſuch, as he might have kept the Chair from moſt men I know: For even where he roveth wideſt, it is with ſo much wit and ſharpneſs, as putteth me in mind of a great mans Cenſure upon *Joſeph Scaligers Cyclometrica*, (a matter he was not well verſed in) That he had rather err ſo ingeniouſly as he did, then hit upon *Truth* in that heavy manner, as the *Jeſuit* his *Antagoniſt* ſtuffeth his *Books*. Moſt aſſuredly his wit and ſmartneſs in this Diſcourſe, is of the fineſt *Standard*, and his inſight into ſeverer *Learning*, will appear as piercing unto ſuch as uſe not ſtrictly the *Touchſtone* and the *Teſt*, to examine every piece of the glittering Coyn, he payeth his Reader with. But to come to the *Reſurrection*. Methinks it is but a groſs Conception, to think that every *Atome* of the

the preſent individual Matter of a Body, every grain of *Aſhes* of a burned *Cadaver*, ſcattered by the Wind throughout the World, and after numerous Variations, changed peradventure into the body of another man, ſhould at the ſounding of the laſt *Trumpet* be raked together again from all the corners of the Earth, and be made up anew into the ſame *Body* it was before of the firſt Man. Yet if we will be *Chriſtians*, and relye upon Gods Promiſes, we muſt believe that we ſhall riſe again with the ſame Body that walked about, did eat, drink, and live here on Earth; and that we ſhall ſee our *Saviour* and *Redeemer*, with the ſame, the very ſame eyes, wherewith we now look upon the fading *Glories* of this contemptible world.

How ſhall theſe ſeeming Contrarieties be reconciled? If the latter be true, why ſhould not the former be admitted? To explicate this Riddle the better, give me leave to ask your Lordſhip, if you now ſee the *Cannons*, the *Enſigns*, the *Arms*, and other Martial Preparations at *Oxford*, with the ſame Eyes, wherewith many years agone you looked upon *Porphyrie's* and *Ariſtotle's* leaſes there? *I* doubt not but you will anſwer me, aſſuredly with the very ſame. *Is* that *Noble* and *Graceful Perſon* of yours, that begetteth both *Delight* and *Reverence* in every one that looketh upon it? Is that Body of yours, that now is grown to ſuch comely and full Dimenſions, as *Nature* can give her none more advantagious; the ſame Perſon, the ſame Body, which your Vertuous and Excellent Mother bore nine Months in her Chaſte and Honoured Womb, and that your Nurſe gave ſuck unto? Moſt certainly it is the ſame. And yet if you conſider it well, it cannot be doubted, but that ſublunary matter, being in a perpetual flux, and in bodies which have internal Principles of *Heat* and Motion, much continually tranſpiring out to make room for the ſupply of new Aliment; at the length, in long proceſs of time, all is ſo changed, as that *Ship* at *Athens* may as well be called the ſame Ship that was there two hundred years before, and whereof, by reaſon of the continual reparations) not one foot of the *Timber* is remaining in her that builded her at firſt, as this *Body* now can be called the ſame was forty years agone, unleſs ſome higher conſideration keep up the *Identity* of it. Now what that is, let us examine, and whether or no it will reach to our difficulty of the *Reſurrection*. Let us conſider then, how that which giveth the Numerical Individuation to a *Body*, is the Subſtantial Form. As long as that remaineth the ſame, though the Matter be in a continual Flux and Motion, yet the Thing is ſtill the ſame. There is not one drop of the ſame Water in the *Thames*, that ran down by *White hall* yeſternight; yet no man will deny, but that is the ſame River that was in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, as long as it is ſupplied from the ſame Common Stock, the *Sea*. Though this Example reacheth not home,

it

it illuſtrateth the thing. If then the Form remain abſolutely the ſame after ſeparation from the *Matter*, that it was in the Matter, (which can happen only to Forms, that ſubſiſt by themſelves, as humane *Souls*) it followeth then, That whenſoever it is united to Matter again, (all Matter coming out of the ſame Common *Magazine*) it maketh again the ſame *Man*, with the ſame Eyes, and all the ſame Limbs that were formerly. Nay, he is compoſed of the ſame *Individual* Matter, for it hath the ſame Diſtinguiſher and *Individuator*, to wit, the ſame Form or *Soul*. Matter conſidered ſingly by it ſelf, hath no Diſtinction: All matter is in it ſelf the ſame; we muſt fancy it, as we do the indigeſted *Chaos*, it is a uniformally wide *Ocean*. Particularize a few drops of the *Sea*, by filling a Glaſs-full of them, then that Glaſs-full is diſtinguiſhed from all the reſt of the watery *Bulk*: But return back thoſe few drops from whence they were taken, and the Glaſs-full that even now had an Individuation by it ſelf, loſeth that, and groweth one and the ſame with the other main Stock: Yet if you fill your Glaſs again, where ſoever you take it up, ſo it be of the ſame Uniform *Bulk* of Water you had before, it is the ſame Glaſs-full of Water that you had. But as I ſaid before, this Example fitteth entirely, no more than the other did. In ſuch abſtracted Speculations, where we muſt conſider Matter without Form (which hath no actual Being) we muſt not expect adequated Examples in Nature. But enough is ſaid to make a Speculative man ſee, that if *God* ſhould joyn the *Soul* of a lately dead man, (even whilſt his dead Corps ſhould lie entire in his winding-ſheet here) unto a *Body* made of Earth, taken from ſome Mountain in *America*; it were moſt true and certain, that the Body he then ſhould lye by, were the ſame Identical Body he lived with before his *Death*, and late *Reſurrection*. It is evident, that *Sameneſs*, *Thiſneſs*, and *Thatneſs*, belongeth not to Matter by it ſelf, (for a general Indifference runneth through it all) but only as it is diſtinguiſhed and individuated by the Form. Which, in our caſe, whenſoever the ſame *Soul* doth, it muſt be underſtood always to be the ſame matter and Body.

This Point thus paſſed over, I may peece to it what our *Author* ſaith, of a *Magazine* of Subſiſtent Forms, reſiding firſt in the *Chaos*, and hereafter (when the World ſhall have been deſtroyed by fire) in the general heap of *Aſhes*: out of which Gods Voice did, and ſhall draw them out, and clothe them with Matter. This Language were handſome for a *Poet*, or *Rhetorician* to ſpeak; but in a *Philoſopher*, that ſhould ratiocinate ſtrictly and rigorouſly, I cannot admit it. For certainly, there are no ſubſiſtent Forms of *Corporeal* things; (excepting the *Soul* of man, which beſides being an Informing Form, hath another particular Conſideration belonging to it, too long to ſpeak of here.) But whenſoever that Compound is deſtroyed,

ſtroyed, the Form periſheth with the whole. And for the Natural Production of *Corporeal* things, I conceive it to be wrought out by the Action and Paſſion of the *Elements* among themſelves; which introducing new Tempers and Diſpoſitions, into the Bodies where theſe Conflicts paſs; new Forms ſucceed old ones, when the Diſpoſitions are raiſed to ſuch a height, as can no longer conſiſt with the preceding Form, and are in the immediate Degree to fit the ſucceeding one, which they uſher in. The Myſtery of all, which I have at large unfolded in my above-mentioned Treatiſe of the *Immortality of the Soul.*

I ſhall ſay no more to the firſt part of our *Phyſicians* Diſcourſe, after *I* have obſerved, how his Conſequence is no good one; where he inferreth, That if the *Devils* fore-knew, who would be Damned or Saved, it would ſave them the *Labour*, and end their work of tempting Mankind to miſchief and evil. For whatſoever their Moral Deſign and Succeſs be in it, their Nature impelleth them to be always doing it. For as on the one ſide, it is Active in the higheſt Degree, (as being pure *Acts*, that is, *Spirits*,) ſo on the other ſide, they are Malign in as great an Exceſs: By the one they muſt be always working, whereſoever they may work, (like Water in a Veſſel full of holes, that will run out of every one of them which is not ſtopped:) By the other, their whole Work muſt be malicious and miſchievous. Joyning then both theſe Qualities together, it is evident, they will always be tempting mankind, though they know they ſhall be fruſtrate of their Moral End.

But were it not time that I made an end? Yes, it is more than time. And therefore having once paſſed the limit that confined what was becoming, the next ſtep carryed me into the *Ocean* of *Errour*; which being infinite, and therefore more or leſs bearing no proportion in it; *I* will proceed a little further, to take a ſhort Survey of his *Second Part*, and hope for as eaſie *Pardon* after this Addition, to my ſudden and indigeſted Remarks, as if I had encloſed them up now.

Methinks, he beginneth with ſomewhat an affected Diſcourſe, to prove his natural Inclination to *Charity*; which *Vertue* is the intended *Theam* of all the Remainder of his Diſcourſe. And *I* doubt he miſtaketh the loweſt *Orbe* or *Lembe* of that high *Seraphick Vertue*, for the top and perfection of it; and maketh a kind of humane Compaſſion to be *Divine Charity*. He will have it to be a general way of doing good: It is true, he addeth then, *for Gods ſake*; but he allayeth that again, with ſaying, he will have that good done, as by Obedience, and to accompliſh God's will; and looketh at the Effects it worketh upon our Souls, but in a narrow compaſs; like one in the vulgar throng, that conſidereth God as a Judg, and as a Re-

warder or a Puniſher. *Whereas* perfect *Charity*, is that vehement Love of God for his own ſake, for his Goodneſs, for his Beauty, for his Excellencie, that carrieth all the motions of our Soul directly and violently to Him; and maketh a man diſdain, or rather hate all obſtacles that may retard his journey to Him. And that Face of it that looketh toward Mankind with whom we live, and warmeth us to do others good, is but like the over-flowing of the main Stream, that ſwelling above its Banks runneth over in a multitude of little channels.

I am not ſatisfied, that in the Likeneſs which he putteth between *God* and *Man*, he maketh the difference between them, to be but ſuch as between two Creatures that reſemble one another. For between theſe, there is ſome proportion; but between the others, none at all. In the examining of which Diſcourſe, wherein the *Author* obſerveth, that no two Faces are ever ſeen to be perfectly alike, nay, no two *Pictures* of the ſame Face, were exactly made ſo; *I* could take occaſion to inſert a ſubtil and delightful Demonſtration of Mr. *Whites*, wherein he ſheweth, how it is impoſſible that two Bodies (for example, two *Souls*) ſhould ever be made exactly like one another; nay, not rigorouſly equal in any one Accident, as namely in weight, but that ſtill there will be ſome little difference and inequality between them (the *Reaſon* of which Obſervation, our *Author* medled not with) were it not that I have been ſo long already, as Digreſſions were now very unſeaſonable.

Shall I commend or cenſure our *Author* for believing ſo well of his acquired knowledg, as to be dejected at the thought of not being able to leave it a Legacy among his Friends? Or ſhall I examine, whether it be not a high injury to wiſe and gallant *Princes*, who out of the generouſneſs and nobleneſs of their *Nature*, do patronize Arts and learned Men, to impute their ſo doing to vanity of deſiring praiſe, or to fear of Reproach.

But let theſe paſs: I will not engage any that may be-friend him, in a quarrel againſt him. But I may ſafely produce *Epictetus* to contradict him, when he letteth his kindneſs engulf him in deep afflictions for a friend: For he will not allow his wiſe man to have an inward relenting, a troubled feeling, or compaſſion of anothers misfortunes. That diſordereth the one, without any good to the other. Let him afford all the aſſiſtances and relievings in his power, but without intermingling himſelf in others *Woe*; As *Angels*, that do us good, but have no paſſion for us. But this Gentlemans kindneſs goeth yet further: he compareth his love of a *Friend* to his love of *God*; the Union of Friends ſouls by affection, to the Union of the three Perſons in the *Trinity*, and to the *Hypoſtatical Union* of two Natures in one *Chriſt*, by the Words *Incarnation*. Moſt certainly he expreſſeth himſelf

ſelf to be a right good-natur'd man. But if St. *Auguſtine* retracted ſo ſeverely his pathetical Expreſſions for the Death of his Friend, ſaying, *They ſavoured more of the Rhetorical Declamations of a young Orator, than of the grave Confeſſion of a devout Chriſtian*, (or ſomewhat to that purpoſe) What cenſure upon himſelf may we expect of our *Phyſician*, if ever he make any Retraction of this Diſcourſe concerning his *Religion*?

It is no ſmall misfortune to him, that after ſo much time ſpent, and ſo many places viſited in a curious Search, by travelling after the Acquiſition of ſo many Languages; after the wading ſo deep in Sciences, as appeareth by the ample Inventory, and particular he maketh of himſelf: The reſult of all this ſhould be, to profeſs ingenuouſly he had ſtudied enough, onely to become a *Sceptick*; and that having run through all ſorts of *Learning*, he could find reſt and ſatisfaction in none. This, I confeſs, is the unlucky fate of thoſe that light upon wrong *Principles*. But Mr. *White* teacheth us, how the *Theorems* and *Demonſtrations* of *Phyſicks* may be linked and chained together, as ſtrongly, and as continuedly, as they are in the *Mathematicks*, if men would but apply themſelves to a right Method of Study. And I do not find that *Solomon* complained of Ignorance in the height of Knowledg; (as this *Gentleman* ſaith) but only, that after he hath rather acknowledged himſelf ignorant of nothing, but that he underſtood the Natures of all Plants, from the *Cedar* to the *Hyſſop*, and was acquainted with all the ways and paths of Wiſdom and Knowledge; he exclaimeth, that all this is but *Toyl and vexation of Spirit*; and therefore adviſeth men, to change humane Studies into Divine Contemplations and Affections.

I cannot agree to his reſolution of ſhutting his *Books*, and giving over the ſearch of Knowledg, and reſigning himſelf up to Ignorance, upon the reaſon that moveth him; as though it were extream *Vanity* to waſte our days in the purſuit of that, which by attending but a little longer, (till *Death* hath cloſed the eyes of our Body, to open thoſe of our *Soul*) we ſhall gain with eaſe, we ſhall enjoy by infuſion, and is an acceſſory of our Glorification. It is true, as ſoon as *Death* hath played the Midwife to our ſecond Birth, our Soul ſhall then ſee all Truths more freely, than our Corporal Eyes at our firſt Birth ſee all Bodies and Colours, by the natural power of it, as I have touched already, and not onely upon the grounds our *Author* giveth. Yet far be it from us, to think that time loſt, which in the mean ſeaſon we ſhall laborioufly imploy, to warm our ſelves with blowing a few little *Sparks* of that glorious fire, which we ſhall afterwards in one inſtant leap into the middle of, without danger of Scorching. And that for two important *Reaſons*; (beſides ſeveral others, too long to mention here) the one, for the great advantage we have by

Learning in this life; the other, for the huge Contentment that the Acquiſition of it here (which applyeth a ſtrong affection to it) will be unto us in the next life. The want of Knowledg in our firſt Mother (which expoſed her to be eaſily deceived by the *Serpents* cunning) was the root of all our enſuing *Miſery* and *Woe*. It is as true (which we are taught by irrefragable Authority) That *Omnis peccans ignorat*: And the Well-head of all the calamities and miſchiefs in all the World, conſiſteth of the troubled and bitter waters of Ignorance, Folly and Raſhneſs; to cure which, the onely Remedy and Antidote, is the ſalt of true *Learning*, the bitter *Wood* of *Study*, painful *Meditation*, and orderly *Conſideration*. I do not mean ſuch *Study*, as armeth wrangling *Champions* for clamorous *Schools*, where the Ability of ſubtil Diſputing to and fro, is more prized than the retriving of Truth: But ſuch as filleth the mind with ſolid and uſeful notions, and doth not endanger the ſwelling it up with windy vanities. Beſides, the ſweeteſt Companion and entertainment of a well-temper'd mind, is to converſe familiarly with the naked and bewitching beauties of thoſe Miſtreſſes, thoſe Verities and Sciences, which by fair courting of them, they gain and enjoy; and every day bring new freſh ones to their *Seraglio*, where the ancienteſt never grow old or ſtale. Is there any thing ſo pleaſing, or ſo profitable as this?

———*Nil dulcius eſt, bene quam munita tenere*
Edita doctrina ſapientum templa ſerena;
Deſpicere unde queas alios, paſſimque videre
Errare, atque viam palantis quærere vitæ.

But now if we conſider the advantage we ſhall have in the other life by our affection to *Sciences*, and converſation with them in this, it is wonderful great. Indeed that affection is ſo neceſſary, as without it we ſhall enjoy little contentment in all the knowledge we ſhall then be repleniſhed with: for every ones pleaſure in the poſſeſſion of a good, is to be meaſured by his precedent *Deſire* of that good, and by the equality of the taſte and reliſh of him that feedeth upon it. We ſhould therefore prepare and make our taſte before-hand by Aſſuefaction unto, and by often reliſhing what we ſhall then be nouriſhed with. That *Engliſhman* that can drink nothing but *Beer* or *Ale*, would be ill beſtead, were he to go into *Spain* or *Italy*, where nothing but *Wine* groweth: whereas a well experienced *Goinfre*, that can criticize upon the ſeveral taſtes of Liquors, would think his *Palate* in *Paradice*, among thoſe delicious *Nectars* (to uſe *Aretines* phraſe upon his eating of a *Lamprey*.) Who was ever delighted with *Tobacco* the firſt time he took it? And who could willingly be without it, after he was a while habituated to the uſe of it? How many

many examples are there daily of young men, that marrying upon their Fathers command, not through precedent affections of their own, have little comfort in worthy and handsome Wives, that others would passionately affect? *Archimedes* lost his life, for being so ravished with the delight of a Mathematical Demonstration, that he could not of a sudden recal his extasied *Spirits* to attend the rude Souldiers Summons: But instead of him, whose minde hath been always fed with such sub il *Diet*, how many plain *Country-Gentlemen* doth your Lordship and I know, that rate the knowledge of their Husbandry at a much higher pitch; and are extreamly delighted by conversing with that; whereas the other would be most tedious and importune to them? We may then safely conclude, That if we will joy in the *Knowledge* we shall have after *Death*, we must in our life-time raise within our selves earnest affections to it, and desires of it, which cannot be barren ones; but will press upon us to gain some Knowledg by way of advance here; and the more we attain unto, the more we shall be in *Love* with what remaineth behind. To this reason then adding the other, How knowledg is the surest prop, and guide of our present life; and how it perfecteth a man in that which constituteth a man, his *Reason*; and how it enableth him to tread boldly, steadily, constantly, and knowingly in all his ways: And I am confident, all men that shall hear the Case thus debated, will joyn with me in making it a Suit to our *Physician*, that he will keep his *Books* open, and continue that *Progress* he hath so happily begun.

But I believe your Lordship will scarcely joyn with him in his wish, that we might procreate and beget Children without the help of Women, or without any Conjunction or Commerce with that sweet and bewitching *Sex*. *Plato* taxeth his fellow *Philosopher* (though otherwise a learned and brave man) for not sacrificing to the *Graces*, to those gentle Female *Goddesses*. What thinketh your Lordship of our *Physicians* bitter censure of that action, which *Mahomet* maketh the Essence of his *Paradice*? Indeed, besides those his unkindnesses, or rather frowardnesses, at that tender-hearted *Sex* (which must needs take it ill at his hands) methinketh he setteth Marriage at too low a rate, which is assuredly the highest and divinest link of humane Society. And where he speaketh of *Cupid*, and of *Beauty*, it is in such a phrase, as putteth me in mind of the Learned *Greek Reader* in *Cambridg*, his courting of his *Mistress* out of *Stephens* his *Thesaurus*.

My next Observation upon his Discourse, draweth me to a *Logical* consideration of the Nature of an exact *Syllogism*: which kind of reflection, though it use to open the door in the course of Learning and Study; yet it will neer shut it in my *Discourse*, which my following the thred that my *Author* spinneth, assigneth to this place. If he had well and throughly considered all that is required to that strict

Learning in this life; the other, for the huge Contentment that the Acquiſition of it here (which applyeth a ſtrong affection to it) will be unto us in the next life. The want of Knowledg in our firſt Mother (which expoſed her to be eaſily deceived by the *Serpents* cunning) was the root of all our enſuing *Miſery* and *Woe*. It is as true (which we are taught by irrefragable Authority) That *Omnis peccans ignorat*: And the Well-head of all the calamities and miſchiefs in all the World, conſiſteth of the troubled and bitter waters of Ignorance, Folly and Raſhneſs; to cure which, the onely Remedy and Antidote, is the ſalt of true *Learning*, the bitter *Wood* of *Study*, painful *Meditation*, and orderly *Conſideration*. I do not mean ſuch *Study*, as armeth wrangling *Champions* for clamorous *Schools*, where the Ability of ſubtil Diſputing to and fro, is more prized than the retriving of Truth: But ſuch as filleth the mind with ſolid and uſeful notions, and doth not endanger the ſwelling it up with windy vanities. Beſides, the ſweeteſt Companion and entertainment of a well-temper'd mind, is to converſe familiarly with the naked and bewitching beauties of thoſe Miſtreſſes, thoſe Verities and Sciences, which by fair courting of them, they gain and enjoy; and every day bring new freſh ones to their *Seraglio*, where the ancienteſt never grow old or ſtale. Is there any thing ſo pleaſing, or ſo profitable as this?

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Deſpicere unde queas alios, paſſimque videre
Errare, atque viam palantes quærere vitæ.

But now if we conſider the advantage we ſhall have in the other life by our affection to *Sciences*, and converſation with them in this, it is wonderful great. Indeed that affection is ſo neceſſary, as without it we ſhall enjoy little contentment in all the knowledge we ſhall then be repleniſhed with: for every ones pleaſure in the poſſeſſion of a good, is to be meaſured by his precedent *Deſire* of that good, and by the equality of the taſte and reliſh of him that feedeth upon it. We ſhould therefore prepare and make our taſte before-hand by Aſſuefaction unto, and by often reliſhing what we ſhall then be nouriſhed with. That *Engliſhman* that can drink nothing but *Beer* or *Ale*, would be ill beſtead, were he to go into *Spain* or *Italy*, where nothing but *Wine* groweth: whereas a well-experienced *Goinfre*, that can criticize upon the ſeveral taſtes of Liquors, would think his *Palate* in *Paradice*, among thoſe delicious *Nectars* (to uſe *Aretines* phraſe upon his eating of a *Lampry*.) Who was ever delighted with *Tobacco* the firſt time he took it? And who could willingly be without it, after he was a while habituated to the uſe of it? How

many

many examples are there daily of young men, that marrying upon their *Fathers* command, not through precedent affections of their own, have little comfort in worthy and handſome Wives, that others would paſſionately affect? *Archimedes* loſt his life, for being ſo raviſhed with the delight of a Mathematical Demonſtration, that he could not of a ſudden recal his extaſied *Spirits* to attend the rude Souldiers Summons: But inſtead of him, whoſe minde hath been always fed with ſuch ſubtil *Diet*, how many plain *Country-Gentlemen* doth your Lordſhip and I know, that rate the knowledge of their Husbandry at a much higher pitch, and are extreamly delighted by converſing with that, whereas the other would be moſt tedious and importune to them? We may then ſafely conclude, That if we will joy in the *Knowledge* we ſhall have after *Death*, we muſt in our life-time raiſe within our ſelves earneſt affections to it, and deſires of it, which cannot be barren ones, but will preſs upon us to gain ſome Knowledg by way of advance here; and the more we attain unto, the more we ſhall be in *Love* with what remaineth behind. To this reaſon then adding the other, How knowledg is the ſureſt prop, and guide of our preſent life; and how it perfecteth a man in that which conſtituteth a man, his *Reaſon*; and how it enableth him to tread boldly, ſteadily, conſtantly, and knowingly in all his ways: And I am confident, all men that ſhall hear the Caſe thus debated, will joyn with me in making it a Suit to our *Phyſician*, that he will keep his *Books* open, and continue that *Progreſs* he hath ſo happily begun.

But I believe your Lordſhip will ſcarcely joyn with him in his wiſh, that we might procreate and beget Children without the help of Women, or without any Conjunction or Commerce with that ſweet and bewitching *Sex*. *Plato* taxeth his fellow *Philoſopher* (though otherwiſe a learned and brave man) for not ſacrificing to the *Graces*, to thoſe gentle Female *Goddeſſes*. What thinketh your Lordſhip of our *Phyſicians* bitter cenſure of that action, which *Mahomet* maketh the Eſſence of his *Paradice*? Indeed, beſides thoſe his unkindneſſes, or rather frowardneſſes, at that tender-hearted *Sex* (which muſt needs take it ill at his hands) methinketh he ſetteth Marriage at too low a rate, which is aſſuredly the higheſt and divineſt link of humane Society. And where he ſpeaketh of *Cupid*, and of *Beauty*, it is in ſuch a phraſe, as putteth me in mind of the Learned *Greek Reader* in *Cambridg*, his courting of his *Miſtreſs* out of *Stephens* his *Theſaurus*.

My next Obſervation upon his Diſcourſe, draweth me to a *Logical* conſideration of the Nature of an exact *Syllogiſm*: which kind of reflection, though it uſe to open the door in the courſe of Learning and Study; yet it will neer ſhut it in my *Diſcourſe*, which my following the thred that my *Author* ſpinneth, aſſigneth to this place. If he had well and throughly conſidered all that is required to that

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ſtrict way of managing our *Reaſon*, he would not have cenſured *Ariſtotle* for condemning the fourth Figure, out of no other motive, but becauſe it was not conſonant to his own Principle; that it would not fit with the Foundations himſelf had laid; though it do with Reaſon (ſaith he) and be conſonant to that, which indeed it doth not, at all times, and in all Circumſtances. In a perfect *Syllogiſme*, the Predicate muſt be identified with the Subject, and each extream with the middle term, and ſo conſequently, all three with one another. But in *Galen*'s fourth *Figure*, the caſe may ſo fall out, as theſe Rules will not be current there.

As for the good and excellency that he conſidereth in the worſt things, and how far from Solitude any man is in a Wilderneſs; *Theſe are* (in his Diſcourſe) but *equivocal conſiderations of Good*, and of *Lowlineſs*. Nor are they any ways pertinent to the Morality of that part, where he treateth of them.

I have much ado to believe, what he ſpeaketh confidently, That he is more beholding to *Morpheus*, for Learned and Rational, as well as pleaſing *Dreams*, than to *Mercury* for ſmart and facetious Conceptions; whom *Saturn* (it ſeemeth by his relation) hath looked aſquint upon in his Geniture.

In his concluding *Prayer*, wherein he ſummeth up all he wiſheth; methinketh his Arrow is not winged with that fire, which I ſhould have expected from him upon this occaſion: For it is not the peace of *Conſcience*, nor the bridling up of ones affections, that expreſſeth the higheſt delightfulneſs and happieſt ſtate of a perfect *Chriſtian*. It is love onely that can give us *Heaven* upon Earth, as well as in Heaven; and bringeth us thither too: So that the *Thuſcan Virgil* had reaſon to ſay,

——*In alte dolcezze*
Non ſi puo gioio, ſe non amando.

And this Love muſt be imployed upon the nobleſt and higheſt Object, not terminated in our Friends. But of this tranſcendent and divine part of *Charity*, that looketh directly and immediately upon God himſelf; and that is the intrinſecal Form, the utmoſt Perfection, the ſcope and final period of true *Religion*, (this Gentlemans intended *Theam*, as I conceive) *I* have no occaſion to ſpeak any thing, ſince my *Author* doth but tranſiently mention it; and that too, in ſuch a phraſe as ordinary *Chatechiſms* ſpeak of to vulgar Capacities.

Thus, my Lord, having run through the Book (God knows how ſleightly, upon ſo great a ſudden) which your Lordſhip commanded me to give you an account of, there remaineth yet a weightier task upon me to perform; which is, to excuſe my ſelf of Preſumption

tion, for daring to consider any Moles in that *Face*, which you had marked for a Beauty. But who shall well consider my manner of proceeding in these Remarks, will free me from that Censure. I offer not at *judging* the Prudence and Wisdom of this Discourse: These are fit Inquiries for your Lordships Court of highest Appeal: In my inferiour one, I meddle onely with little knotty pieces of particular Sciences (*Matinæ apis instar, operosa parvus carmina fingit.*) In which it were peradventure a fault for your Lordship to be too well versed; your Imployments are of a higher and nobler *Strain*, and that concerns the welfare of millions of men:

Tu regere Imperio Populos (Sackville) memento
(Hæ tibi erunt Artes) pacisque imponere morem.

Such little Studies as these, belong only to those Persons that are low in the Rank they hold in the Commonwealth, low in their Conceptions, and low in a languishing and rusting leisure, such an one as *Virgil* calleth *Ignobile otium*, and such an one as I am now dulled withal. If *Alexander* or *Cæsar* should have commended a tract of Land, as fit to fight a Battel in for the Empire of the world, or to build a City upon, to be the *Magazine* and Staple of all the adjacent Countries; no body could justly condemn that Husbandman, who according to his own narrow Art and Rules, should censure the Plains of *Arbela*, or *Pharsalia*, for being in some places sterile; or the Meadows about *Alexandria*, for being sometimes subject to be overflown; or could tax ought he should say in that kind for a contradiction unto the others commendations of those places, which are built upon higher and larger Principles.

So (my Lord) I am confident I shall not be reproached of unmannerliness for putting in a Demurrer unto a few little particularities in that noble Discourse, which your Lordship gave a general Applause unto; and by doing so, I have given your Lordship the best Account I can of my self, as well as of your Commands. You hereby see what my entertainments are, and how I play away my time.

——Dorset dum magnus ad altum
Fulminat Oxonium bello, victorque volentes
Per populos dat jura; viamq; affectat Olympo.

May your Counsels there be happy and successful ones, to bring about that *Peace*, which if we be not quickly blessed withal, a general ruine threatneth the whole *Kingdom*. From *Winchester*-house the 22 (I think I may say the 23, for I am sure it is Morning, and I think it is Day) of *December*, 1642.

Your Lordships most humble
and obedient Servant,
Kenelm Digby.

The Postscript.

My Lord,

LOoking over these loose Papers to point them, I perceive I have forgotten what I promised in the eighth sheet, to touch in a word concerning Grace: *I do not conceive it to be a Quality infused by* God Almighty *into a Soul.*

Such kind of discoursing satisfieth me no more in Divinity, *than in* Philosophy. *I take it to be the whole Complex of such real motives (as a solid account may be given of them) that incline a man to Virtue and Piety; and are set on foot by Gods particular* Grace *and* Favour, *to bring that work to pass. As for Example: To a man plunged in* Sensuality, *some great misfortune happeneth, that mouldeth his heart to a tenderness, and inclineth him to much thoughtfulness: In this temper, he meeteth with a* Book *or* Preacher, *that representeth lively to him the danger of his own condition; and giveth him hopes of greater contentment in other Objects, after he shall have taken leave of his former beloved* Sins. *This begetteth further conversation with prudent and pious men, and experienced* Physicians, *in curing the* Souls Maladies; *whereby he is at last perfectly converted, and settled in a course of solid* Vertue *and* Piety.

Now these accidents of his misfortune, the gentleness and softness of his Nature, his falling upon a good Book, *his encountring with a pathetick* Preacher, *the impremeditated Chance that brought him to hear his* Sermon, *his meeting with other worthy men, and the whole Concatenation of all the intervening Accidents, to work this good effect in him; and that were ranged and disposed from all Eternity, by* Gods *particular goodness and providence for his* Salvation; *and without which he had inevitably been damned: This Chain of Causes, ordered by* God *to produce this effect, I understand to be* Grace.

FINIS.